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Sit hoc ſatis; præſtat enim pauca avidé diſcere, quam multa cum tædio devorare.—ERASM.

ORIGINAL CRITICISM.

Laing's *Hiſtory of Scotland.*

(Continued from P. 398.)

THE commencement of our author's third chapter excited, we muſt confeſs, our aſtoniſhment. Aſſertions ſo notoriouſly contrary to fact we could not have expected, even from the hardihood of Mr. Laing.

"From the moral evidence," he ſays, "which the conduct of Mary affords of her ſecret concern in the murder of her huſband, her apologiſts are careful to turn away their eyes. They quibble concerning particular facts, but are afraid to contemplate the whole in ſucceſſion; and under whatever name their examinations, enquiries, and vindications are publiſhed, they begin invariably at the middle, with verbal and minute criticiſms on the letters, or partial obſervations on detached paſſages of the conferences in England, of which they never venture to trace and ſtate the reſult." (P. 111.)

Surely Mr. Laing muſt take it for granted, that none of his readers have ſtudied this controverſy; or he would not thus inſult their common ſenſe. On no ſubject has *the moral evidence* been more ably canvaſſed, or the facts examined with greater care. Goodall's work, indeed, was principally confined to the object of proving the letters ſpurious; but his labours thus far were attended with complete ſucceſs. Tytler, however, took a wider range. His "Inquiry" embraces *the whole moral evidence, in all its bearings*, and is, confeſſedly,

one of the moſt elegant and maſterly ſpecimens of controverſial writing which any age or country has produced. The mighty mind of Whitaker has exhauſted the ſubject. His keen and indefatigable eye, which nothing can eſcape, inſtead of turning, as Mr. Laing alleges, from the evidence in this cauſe, has pierced its moſt dark and intricate receſſes. Not only has this powerful and ardent writer placed all the *direct proofs* in a light which flaſhes conviction; but he has hardly omitted even *a collateral point* connected, however remotely, with the queſtion. His "Vindication" contains an amazing maſs of information, combined with that ſtrong fire of genius, and that impregnable ſolidity of argument, by which all the productions of his pen are diſtinguiſhed. His "Vindication" might, perhaps, be ſomewhat improved by compreſſion; and, certainly, by a more orderly arrangement. But he has, with ſuch acuteneſs, detected the enormous and complicated villanies of Murray and his rebellious crew, that their names, in ſpite of Mr. Laing's exertions, will deſcend with infamy to the lateſt poſterity. We muſt, however, proceed with our author.

According to the ſtatement of the rebels, one of Bothwell's ſervants, named Dalglieſh, was, on the 20th of June 1567, ſeized, by ſome of Morton's retainers, with a box of papers, which he had been ſent, by his maſter, to fetch from Edinburgh Caſtle, then in the hands of Sir James Balfour. This box was a caſket of ſilver gilt, which had belonged to Francis II. of France, and which Mary, *of courſe*, had preſented to Bothwell. It contained the famous letters, ſonnets, and contracts, which thus came, ſay the rebels, into their poſſeſſion, affording the moſt ſatisfactory evidence of Mary's, as well as of Bothwell's guilt, convicting them both of adultery and of murder. It is, certainly, very natural to aſk, What could have tempted Bothwell to preſerve theſe papers? We ſhall ſuppoſe the Queen, from the influence of her abandoned paſſion, to have been ſo loſt to all ſenſe of ſhame and conſiderations of ſafety, as to write the letters, and even to diſpatch them *open* to Bothwell; but we cannot ſuppoſe *him* to have been delirious with love of a woman, who was forcing, and nauſeouſly forcing, her perſon upon him. His intereſt, in every poſſible point of view, was certainly to deſtroy theſe dangerous letters; and, therefore, his conduct is wholly unaccountable. Lord Hailes, however, Mr. Laing informs us, aſſigns, in a MS. note on Tytler's Inquiry, "three *ſufficient* reaſons" for Bothwell's procedure; "the care of vindicating himſelf; the deſire of preventing the Queen from drawing back; and the vanity of having received ſuch letters from the fineſt woman in the world." It is wonderful to ſee the effects of prejudice. Lord Hailes was a man of penetration and ſenſe; yet, in this caſe, we find him ſatisfied with reaſons which are no reaſons at all. The laſt of them, all the circumſtances conſidered, is ridiculous to the laſt degree. The two firſt are the original property of Buchanan, who ſays that Bothwell "literas conſervârat, ut ſiquid diſſidii cum eâ [Reginâ] incidiſſet, illo teſtimonio uteretur, nec ſe regiæ cædis auctorem, ſed comitem fuiſſe, oſtenderet." (Hiſt. xviii. 51.) It is ſurely

ſtrange

ſtrange that it did not occur to Buchanan, Lord Hailes, or Mr. Laing, that Bothwell could never have dared to produce theſe letters in his own juſtification, though the Queen ſhould have afterwards capriciouſly deſerted him. The production of them muſt have been attended with his inſtant and infallible ruin.

But "the Confederate Lords," as our author calls them, were, according to him, perplexed with the diſcovery, and knew not how to act. "Until the contents of the caſket," he ſays, "were carefully examined, we may be ſure that the diſcovery would not be revealed by them. They were careful not to exaſperate Mary's friends, by divulging the letters." (P. 114.) It is thus that our author, by a friendly fiction of his own invention in favour of his clients, endeavours to account for a ſingular fact which alone is ſufficient to damn their cauſe. This important caſket, on which they choſe, at laſt, to reſt their whole defence, came, the rebels tell us, into their poſſeſſion the 20th of June; yet it was never heard of by a ſingle perſon till the 4th of the following December, when it was produced in Murray's Secret Council. Dalglieſh was examined before Morton's Council on the 26th June, and was not executed before the 3d January. But neither in his depoſition, nor in his confeſſion, which are both given us by the rebels themſelves, is there a ſingle word of the caſket or its contents. No queſtion, it appears, was aſked concerning them. It is not ſufficient, with Mr. Laing, to ſay, that, at the time of Dalglieſh's examination, ſix days after the diſcovery of the letters, the rebels "were afraid at firſt to divulge them, leſt it ſhould preclude all terms of accommodation with Mary's friends." (P. 121.) When they laid theſe papers before the Council and Parliament in December, their fears of accommodation were over. Dalglieſh was then alive; why did they not produce him, and thoſe who ſeized him, to authenticate the circumſtances of this intereſting diſcovery? The reaſon is plain: BECAUSE THEY DURST NOT. Dalglieſh knew nothing about this caſket, of which the contents, at the time of his apprehenſion, were not in exiſtence; and had he been then, or afterwards, examined on the ſubject, he would have blown the whole forgery at once into atoms.

There is no reſiſting the force of this concluſion. But although the rebels, according to Mr. Laing, were at firſt afraid to divulge the letters, they put them, it ſeems, to an admirable uſe. "Their firſt deſign, which," he ſays, "was *to keep Mary confined for a time, till divorced from Bothwell*, was altered by thoſe indiſputable proofs which they had diſcovered of her guilt." (P. 114.) This, we think, is incomparable! The original object of the rebels, good ſouls! is only to get their Queen divorced from Bothwell. To accompliſh this object, when they have Bothwell in their power at Carberry Hill on the 15th June, they very courteouſly "bid him depart, promiſing *that na man ſould follow nor purſew him!*" and they then confine their unfortunate Queen till the divorce be obtained! When Mr. Laing condeſcended to reaſon thus, he muſt ſurely have ſuppoſed all his read-

ers ſimpletons! The contents of the caſket, however, being thus providentially diſcovered by theſe conſcientious men, were employed to extort, according to Mr. Laing, from the captive Queen a reſignation of her crown. They threatened her with a judicial trial for the murder of her huſband; and ſhe, when ſhe knew that they had ſuch evidence againſt her, could refuſe them nothing. The danger of a legal inveſtigation, if we believe Mr. Laing, was the only argument employed to frighten her. From her reſignation he, therefore, concludes, that the contents of the caſket were undoubtedly genuine. "As Mary had no danger to apprehend, except from a judicial examination, nothing leſs than her letters, containing the proofs of her guilt, could have induced her thus to reſign the crown." (P. 119.)

One would think that Mr. Laing muſt have been preſent at every interview of theſe audacious rebels with their wretched Queen. Who told him that ſhe was in no danger, except from a judicial proceſs? Throckmorton ſays, "I find by intelligence that the Queen is in very great peril of her life:—they cannot tell how to be rydd of their Queene *(wyche I myſtruſte they intend an wey or other)*." Melville ſays that they ſent Lord Lindſay, "firſt to uſe fair perſuaſion, and if that failed, they were reſolved to enter into *harder terms*." Crawford's MS. ſays, that "ſhoe nather could, nor durſt refuſe, for the meſſenger was commandit, in caſe ſhoe had refuſit, to denounce *puniſhment and death unto her for the murder of her lawful huſband King Henry*." Theſe paſſages are, at leaſt, as naturally explained of aſſaſſination as of trial, and Mr. Laing forgot the character of his clients when he wrote the following gratuitous aſſertion: "Her friends had no reaſon to apprehend that the Confederates would incur the public abhorrence, and the united vengeance of France and England, by an aſſaſſination worſe and more atrocious than that of which they accuſed the Queen." (P. 117.) Murray, on his return, paid her a viſit; and "his motives," ſays our author, "for this viſit *have never been underſtood*." But what has never been hitherto underſtood, Mr. Laing is perfectly able to explain. We are, accordingly, aſſured that Murray's views "were to examine her preſent diſpoſition in perſon, that his future conduct might be regulated by the reſult of his own obſervations; to produce, perhaps, by his ſalutary remonſtrances, a reformation in her mind; and, finally, to procure her perſonal conſent to his acceptance of the government." (P. 119.) That Murray was actuated by the firſt and laſt of theſe views, no one, we ſuppoſe, will be diſpoſed to doubt; and we are rather ſurpriſed that Mr. Laing ſhould arrogate to himſelf the claim of uncommon diſcernment on account of the diſcovery. With regard to the ſecond motive to which Murray's viſit is here aſcribed, we own that we have our doubts. Throckmorton informs us, from the rebels themſelves, that Murray, at the ſecond interview with his ſiſter, "behaved like a ghoſtly confeſſor." This report is certainly conſiſtent enough with the character which Murray uniformly affected, and which was afterwards confirmed to him by the appellation of the *Gude* (i. e. *godly*) *Regent*. From the very beginning

ginning of the Reformation, this unprincipled, but able, hypocrite reſolved to make the ignorant zeal of the fanatical reformers the ſtalking horſe of his inordinate ambition; and he ſucceeded. But he had, in truth, no ſenſe of religion; and, although he had known the Queen to be as guilty as he knew her to be innocent, her repentance and obduracy would have been to him matters of equal indifference. The object of this viſit was to force his Sovereign to abdicate her crown; and the argument employed was, *undoubtedly, a menace of inevitable death.* At the cloſe of his ſecond interview, accordingly, he "*left her to the mercy of God, as her only reſource.*" (P. 120) This intelligence we have from the rebels themſelves, who, by the very expreſſion, ſufficiently betray the kind of language held by Murray on this cruel occaſion. But if Murray's party had, at this time, been poſſeſſed of the letters, would ſuch have been his language? "*Credat Judæus Apella.*" Could the rebels have told their unfortunate Queen that they had letters of hers, undoubtedly genuine, which clearly convicted her of adultery and murder, no other argument would have been neceſſary. Had Mary, indeed, been even conſcious that ſuch letters might poſſibly be in exiſtence, a ſingle hint of their diſcovery would have been ſufficient: and had Murray been fortified with ſuch irreſragable evidence of his Sovereign's guilt, the grimaces of the "ghoſtly confeſſor" would have been wholly uſeleſs, and, of courſe, we may be ſure, would have been laid aſide.

Mr. Whitaker (Vol. I. 240, &c.) has proved, in the moſt convincing manner, that the contents of the caſket, though ſaid to be obtained on the 20th June, were not in exiſtence for many months after. Elizabeth had ſent down Throckmorton to interpoſe in behalf of Mary with the rebel faction. The rebels diſcovered great eagerneſs to juſtify themſelves by defaming the Queen. But they never once alleged the letters; and, therefore, we may be certain that they had them not. Nay, in all their acts of council and proclamations, from the 20th June to the 4th December, not a ſingle hint of theſe letters occurs, nor even ſo much as a bare alluſion to them. Mr. Laing accounts for this omiſſion by ſaying that, "as no minutes of council were then taken, no mention of the letters could occur in its records, till an act of council was pronounced on the ſubject;" and he adds, that Mr. Whitaker "ſhould have known" this. (P. 121.) But ſuch reaſoning is moſt egregious trifling. Why did not the rebels *make* an act of council on the ſubject of theſe letters? The letters were certainly the *beſt* defence which they could allege for their treaſon. We ſhall, indeed, ſoon find them expreſsly declaring theſe papers to be their *only* defence. If they had had theſe moſt important documents, their acts of council, their negociations with Throckmorton, and their proclamations, would have reſounded with their triumphs. We, therefore, conclude *that they had them not*; and all Mr. Laing's reaſons for their ſilence are nothing but the "quibblings of a Scottiſh advocate," which, to the mind of a perſon accuſtomed to ſcrutinize the value of evidence, prove only the deſperate badneſs of his cauſe.

At laſt these important letters make their appearance. On the 4th December, nearly ſix months after the ſeizure of Dalglieſh, the rebels, aſſembled in ſecret council, declare that, after conſultation for their own ſecurity, they "can find *no other way or moyen* [mean] how to find or make the ſaied ſecuritie, but be oppynynge and reveling of the trewth and haill matter fra the beginninge plainlie and uprichtlie." They then declare, with diabolical falſehood, their ſorrow for being driven to this ſtep, "for that luif they beare unto hir perſon, wha was ſomtime their ſoveraine, . . . and if otherwiſe the ſinceritie of their intentions and proceedings myt be known to forrein nacions, and the inhabitantes of this iſle ſatisfiet and reſolvit of the rightneſſneſs of theire quarrel, and the ſecuritie of them and theire poſteritie *be any other mean* myght be providit and eſtabliſhed."

Let our readers obſerve the profligacy of theſe men. From the 11th of June, when they armed againſt their Sovereign, to the 4th of December, they allege, as their excuſe, her attachment to the murderer of her huſband, and their anxiety for the Prince's life. If theſe excuſes were valid at firſt, they were valid at laſt; and no other was wanted. During all this time, though many ſchemes had been agitated in their fertile brains, and, among the reſt, a project of charging the Queen with the crimes of adultery and murder, not a word eſcapes them concerning the letters. Even ſo late as the 1ſt September, Throckmorton reports the following converſation with Murray, now Regent: "As to the acceptation of the regency, he ſaid, it was now paſt: and as for ignominy and calumniation, *he had none other defence againſt that but the goodneſs of God, his upright conſcience, and his intent to deal ſincerely in his office; and if that would not ſerve, he could not tell what to ſay*; for now there was no other remedy but he muſt go through with the matter." (Keith, 457.) By his own confeſſion, therefore, Murray had not *then* the contents of the caſket. They had not as yet come forth from the forge; for his only defences were *the goodneſs of God, his upright conſcience*, and *his good intentions*. But a better defence than any of theſe was deemed expedient. Accordingly the letters, ſonnets, and contracts are, at laſt, prepared for the public inſpection. And now, the rebels, whoſe actions were before ſufficiently juſtified, have no ſhadow of juſtification whatever, but what ariſes from theſe papers. They "can find no other way or moyen" for their own ſecurity but producing theſe papers; and the Queen's unconquerable attachment to Bothwell, their ſolicitude to bring that nobleman to juſtice, their fears for the Prince; nay, "the goodneſs of God," Murray's "upright conſcience," and "his intent to deal ſincerely in his office;" all vaniſh into air.

But theſe men, like moſt deviſers of crooked policy, overſhot their mark. They declare that "their previe convenſinis and meſſages," that is, their private treaſonable confederacies; their "taking of armes, and cominge to the fields with opinn and diſplait baneris;" their "taeking of the Quene's perſon upon the 15th daie of Junii laſt by paſt, and holding and deteininge of the ſame within the houſe and

and place of Lochlevin continewallie ſenſyne, preſentlie, *and in all times coming*; *and generallie, all other things inventit, ſpokin, writtin, or donne be them or anny of them ſen the tent daie of February laſt by paſt* [the day of the King's murder] *unto the daie and date heirof*, towechning the ſaied Quene hir perſon;" were all occaſioned by her crimes, as diſcovered in the letters to Bothwell. Thus the letters, which, by their own accounts, were not diſcovered till the 20th of June, are aſſigned by them as the cauſe, not only of their taking arms on the 11th, and of making their Queen a priſoner on the 15th, of that month; but, generally, of all their treaſons from the 10th of the February preceding. Mr. Laing has, indeed, controverted this interpretation of the act of council; and therefore it is neceſſary to produce the very words of it. The rebels ſay, then, that "*the cauſe and occaſion*" of all their proceedings, as detailed above, "wes in the ſaied Quene's awin default, *in as far as, be divers hir previe letters, writtin and ſubſcrivit with hir awin hand, and ſent be hir to James Erll of Boithwell .... it is moſt certeine that ſhe was previe, art and part, and of the actuall deviſe and deid of the murder of the Kinge hir lauchful huſband.*"—"This paſſage," ſays our author, "has been miſerably perverted to a different ſenſe, viz. that her letters to Bothwell were the cauſe of taking arms, and the detention of her perſon, which, as the letters were not then diſcovered, was abſolutely falſe." His own interpretation is that, "ſhe could not accuſe their riſing as rebellion, when their proceedings were juſtified by her own crimes, as was manifeſt both from her letters and marriage." (P. 123.) For this expoſition he quotes his great authority, Lord Hailes, in another MS. note on Tytler, who had urged the argument. But this is only another proof that Lord Hailes, notwithſtanding all his acuteneſs, was capable, where his prejudices were engaged, of the common weakneſſes of inferior men. The rebels, *in expreſs terms*, affirm that *the cauſe and occaſion* of their rebellion, were *the crimes of the Queen, as proved* (in part, at leaſt) *by her letters to Bothwell.* Now this is a groſs and manifeſt falſehood; for they openly rebelled on the 11th of June; and yet the crimes of the Queen, *as proved by the letters*, were not known, by their own confeſſion, till the 20th. Theſe men are, therefore, proved, by their own public act, as notorious liars as they were perjured traitors; and it is to us incomprehenſible on what principle any perſon of honourable feelings can undertake their defence.

The object of the rebels, in their act of council, was to prepare themſelves for the meeting of Parliament. Accordingly, on the 15th December, an act of parliament ratified the act of council. But in parliament the letters are exceedingly different from what they were in council. In the latter they were "divers hir previe letters, *writtin and ſubſcrivit with her awin hand*;" but, in the former, the ſubſcription is cautiouſly withdrawn. They are now deſcribed as "divers hir previe letters, *writtin halelie* [wholly] *with her awin hand.*" The letters had, therefore, undergone a moſt material change ſince their production in council; a change which fixes the brand of forgery ſo

ſtrongly on them, that no efforts will ever be ſufficient to remove it. Our author, however, denominates this inference "*deſpicable quibbling*;" whilſt his own ſagacious reaſoning on the ſubject is ſupremely ridiculous. "As every *legal* and *conventional* writing," he ſays, "was termed *a letter*, her letters, ſonnets, and marriage contracts, which were all ſecret, were ſtyled indiſcriminately her *previe letters*." (P. 125.) The Scots, it is true, talk of *letters of horning*, *letters of caption*, *criminal letters*, &c.; but no Scotch lawyer ever talked, we believe, of *letters of ſonnet*, or *letters of marriage contract*. Mr. Laing too, we apprehend, is the firſt lawyer of any nation who ever ſtyled private love-letters and ſonnets "*legal and conventional writings*." But, continues our author, "As the letters, ſonnets, and firſt contract in French were written, and the ſecond only ſubſcribed, by the Queen, they were deſcribed, *undoubtedly*, as 'divers her previe letters, written *or* ſubſcribed with her own hand:' but this clauſe, in the copy found by Haynes among the Cecil papers, has been converted, by a natural miſtake of the pen or the preſs, into 'written *and* ſubſcribed with her own hand!" (Ibid.) This is improving on the old ſolution of Hume, who contended that "the letters only were written by the Queen; the ſecond contract with Bothwell only ſubſcribed;" but whoſe ſagacity was unequal to the happy diſcovery, made by Mr. Laing, of *and* having ſlipped into the place of *or*. Hume, fooliſh man! was weak enough to ſay "that a proper accurate diſtinction was not made, and they are all ſaid to be wrote *and* ſubſcribed." Yet even our author, with all his dexterity, has ſome difficulty to ſave the credit of his clients. The contents of the caſket, in the act of parliament, are ſaid to be "*wholly* written by the Queen's own hand!" Now, among theſe contents was one contract of marriage between her and Bothwell, which, according to the rebels, was written, *not by the Queen, but by Huntley*. What then is to be done with this troubleſome document? for the honeſt gentlemen ſeem, on every ſuppoſition, convicted of falſehood. But no! Another ſwinging aſſertion of Mr. Laing ſets all to rights. His all-powerful *undoubtedly* at once eſtabliſhes their honeſt good faith.

"In parliament the whole caſket was not produced. The Scotch contract at Seton was *undoubtedly* withheld, for this ſubſtantial reaſon, that it was written by Huntley, one of the Lords of Articles; and when his peace was already made with the Regent, the contract would not have been permitted to paſs that committee, nor introduced into parliament for his obvious impeachment. The letters, ſonnets, and *perhaps* the firſt contract, were alone produced, and are therefore properly deſcribed in the act, by the clerk of parliament, as *written haldie* with hir awin hand." (Pp. 127, 128.)

In anſwer to all this egregious ſophiſtry, it is ſufficient to obſerve, that not a ſingle circumſtance leads us to ſuppoſe that any thing but the letters, *properly ſo called*, were exhibited either in parliament or in council; and in council they were not only written, but ſubſcribed, by the Queen. They then had all the proper and peculiar appendages

dages of private letters; they muſt have been, as all ſuch letters are, ſubſcribed, addreſſed, and dated, with the appearance likewiſe of having been ſealed. But theſe diſtinguiſhing marks of genuine letters were ſoon diſcovered to be dangerous. They were therefore removed; and the ſubſequent ſtate of the letters is thus impreſſively deſcribed by the Biſhop of Roſs. "They are not ſubſcrivit be the alledgit writer thairof, nor ſeillit, nor ſignetit, and contain na dait of zeir [year], moneth, or day, nor zit [yet] direct to na man." Of ſuch letters well might Mr. Whitaker obſerve as follows:—

"They were, therefore, moſt extraordinary letters to be exhibited in evidence. They were to ground a charge againſt Mary of murderous confederacy with Bothwell. Yet they were not *ſubſcribed* by Mary; and they were not *ſuperſcribed* to Bothwell. But they were both *ſuperſcribed* and *ſubſcribed* originally, as I have already ſhewn. Only the ſame principle of cautious villainy in the rebels, that annihilated their own prior creation ſo deciſively, that mangled their poſterior one ſo much as we have ſeen, and peculiarly lopped away the ſubſcriptions, equally applied its retrenching hand to the directions, and tore them wholly away. Letters UNSEALED, and yet (as the Commiſſioners at York very properly ſay,) 'containing foule matteir, and abominable to be thought of, or to be written by a prince,' could not be ſuppoſed, by any but the determined enemies of Mary, to be either ſigned openly *by her*, or to be addreſſed openly *to him*. The ſimplicity of faith in a fool would revolt equally at either. And the addreſs to Bothwell was, accordingly, withdrawn, with the ſignature of Mary." (Vol. I. p. 403.)

After all, we muſt obſerve, the ingenious diſſertator appears to have no great confidence, either in the *undoubted* ſubſtitution of *and* for *or* in the act of Secret Council, or in the *undoubted* ſuppreſſion, when the contents of the caſket were produced in Parliament, of the contract written by Huntley. The character of his clients is, at laſt, defended by accuſing them of a blundering miſtake. "Nothing can be more captious and pedantic," he ſays, "than to demand preciſion of language from an age and nation accuſtomed to *neither*." [*neither* what?] (P. 125.) Unqueſtionably a man's reputation for honeſty is cheaply bought by a voluntary ſacrifice of his pretenſions to ſkill in compoſition. But whom does Mr. Laing expect to perſuade that Murray and his friends underſtood not the difference between "*writtin and ſubſcrivit*," or (as he will have it ſo) "*writtin or ſubſcrivit*," and "*writtin halelie?*" Or does he, on his honour and conſcience, believe that the latter words were ſubſtituted, in the act of parliament, without any meaning, and merely in conſequence of a thoughtleſs blunder? We have a better opinion of Mr. Laing's diſcernment than to imagine ſo. But his modeſty in requiring his reader to grant him ſo plain a poſtulate is really admirable! If Mr. Laing were counſel for *a common felon*, he would not, we may ſafely venture to affirm, overlook a groſs inaccuracy in the indictment. But when the honour and life of *a Queen* are at ſtake, we muſt not be too tenacious of preciſion!

ciſion! This is, ſurely, impartiality with a witneſs; and muſt greatly recommend the unprejudiced ſpirit of this learned hiſtorian!

As ſoon as Mary had put herſelf into the power of Elizabeth, her caſe was deſperate. This was juſt what that unfeeling woman deſired; and it had happened, beyond her moſt ſanguine hopes. But ſhe took care that her credulous and too eaſy priſoner ſhould have leiſure to repent her ill-placed confidence. Mr. Laing has, as he himſelf profeſſes, taken great pains to ſtate the preciſe intention of the conferences in England; "becauſe," he ſays, "Mary's apologiſts, from *a few partial quotations* of her inſtructions to her commiſſioners, have affirmed, that, whether ſhe were innocent or guilty, the profeſſed object of the conference, whatever were its iſſue, was to reſtore her unanointed and unannealed to her throne." (P. 137.) This is abſolutely too much. There is not a circumſtance relating to the negotiations either at the conferences, or previous to them, left unexamined by Whitaker and Tytler, while Mr. Laing's quotations are garbled and unfair. But our author ſays, that "the early deliberations of Cecil .... afford a full demonſtration that Mary could expect no aſſiſtance *nor liberty*, till abſolved from thoſe crimes of which ſhe was accuſed." (P. 138.) Yet part of Cecil's plan, as quoted by Mr. Laing himſelf, is thus expreſſed: "But, if by her anſwer it ſhall not appear but that ſhe is culpable, then her Majeſty may deviſe otherwiſe how to cover the diſhonour of her crime, *and alſo to ſettle her in her realm*, under ſuch government as may preſerve the ſame from the tyranny of the French, and continue the good accord betwixt the two realms." (P. 130.) This plan, however, did not ſuit Elizabeth, who was reſolved that Mary, whether guilty or innocent, ſhould never be reſtored. Our author repeats, (p. 143.) that "the alternative, which was unavoidable, muſt have been tacitly underſtood by both, that, if plainly guilty of her huſband's murder, Mary had no claim on Elizabeth for protection or relief." But the alternative, as our author calls it, could not be ſo underſtood by Mary, who never could have ſuppoſed that ſhe was to be formally tried, before Elizabeth's commiſſioners, for adultery and murder. Her misfortune was, that ſhe truſted too much to Elizabeth's hollow profeſſions of friendſhip. When once, indeed, ſhe was treacherouſly confined in an Engliſh priſon, and had diſcovered the real diſpoſitions of her ſiſter queen, what could ſhe do? She would have acted with more heroiſm, it is true, by reſiſting all attempts to make her commit herſelf; but who could have foreſeen Elizabeth's dark and inveterate malice? Had Mary been the vileſt wretch on earth, Mr. Laing will not ſay that Elizabeth had any authority over her; and the very impriſonment of a ſovereign princeſs was the blackeſt treaſon againſt royalty itſelf.

Elizabeth's object was now to perſuade Murray and his faction to accuſe their Queen, and to obtain ſuch plauſible proofs of her guilt, as might, in ſome degree, ſerve to cover, in the eyes of the world, her own diſhonourable proceedings. Even Murray, however, was frightened

ened at the proſpect of engaging in ſuch a buſineſs, and demanded an aſſurance that he might do it with ſafety. He wanted a plain declaration from Elizabeth, that ſhe would eſpouſe his cauſe. He therefore, tranſmitted a note, by Middlemore, on the 22d June, 1568, requiring to know on what ground he ſtood. The tenor of this note is very remarkable. It ſets the villany of both Elizabeth and Murray in the cleareſt light. After mentioning the danger of bringing forward, as Elizabeth ſolicited him to do, an accuſation of murder and adultery againſt his Sovereign, Murray thus proceeds :—

" Alwayis, *in cais the Quenis Majeſtie will have the accuſation directlie to proceed*, it wer maiſt raiſſonabill we underſtude quhat we ſuld luke [ſhould look] to follow thairupon, in cais we prieve [prove] all that we allege; utherwayis we ſal be als incertane efter the cauſe concludit, as we ar preſentlie. And thairfoir we pray zou requyre her Hienes in this point to reſolve us; at leiſt that my Lordis of the Counſal will aſſure us quhat we ſall lippin unto [may depend upon]."

" Farther it may be that ſic letteris as we haif of the Quene, our Sovereign Lordis moder, that ſufficientlie, in our opinioun, preivis hir conſenting to the murthure of the King hir ſauchful huſband, *ſall be callit in doubt*, be the juges to be conſtitute for examinatioun and trial of the caus, quhether they may ſtand or fall, pruif or not. Thairfoir ſen [ſince] our ſervand Mr. Jhone Wode has the copies of the ſame letteris *tranſlated in our language*, we wald erneſtlie deſyre that the ſaid copies may be conſiderit be the juges that ſall haif the examinatioun and commiſſioun of the matter; that they may reſolve us this far, *in cais the principal agrie with the copie, that then we pruif the caus indeed:* for quhen we haif manifeſtit and ſchawin all, and zit [yet] ſall haif na aſſurance that it we ſend ſall ſatisfie for probatioun, for quhat purpois ſall we ather [either] accuſe, or tak care how to pruif, quhen we ar not aſſurit quhat to pruif, or quhen we haif preivit, quhat ſall ſucceid?"

A more ſcandalous tranſaction than is here brought to light occurs not in all the annals of corruption. Murray coolly aſks Elizabeth *to certify him, beforehand, that the evidence which he has to produce ſhall be held ſufficient to condemn the Queen.* But our author's interpretation of this requeſt is inexpreſſibly curious. " By a ſtrange miſrepreſentation of the fact," he ſays, " or perverſion of intellect, Murray's demand is repreſented as an infamous propoſal, to which Elizabeth acceded, that the letters ſhould be held as authentic evidence of guilt, *if they agreed with the copies, not if actually written in Mary's hand.*" And he contends that Murray only wanted to know, " Whether on inſpecting the copies then in England, if the originals correſponded with theſe tranſlations, the letters would be ſuſtained by judges, *not as authentic*, but, according to the Scottiſh law, *as relevant*, or ſufficient, if authenticated, to eſtabliſh her guilt." (P. 140.) It is, ſurely, by " a ſtrange perverſion of intellect" that Mr. Laing pretends to underſtand Murray better than Murray underſtood himſelf; and that, too, directly in the very face of Murray's own words. Where does Mr. Laing find, in Murray's note, a ſingle ſyllable about the *relevancy* of theſe letters, or about

about *proving them the hand-writing of the Queen?* Murray ſends tranſlations of his pretended originals, and he expreſsly deſires to have a previous declaration, that his cauſe will be ſuſtained as good, *not if the originals are proved to be the hand-writing of Mary*, but "*in cais the principal agrie with the copie.*" Can any thing be more evident and plain? And yet Mr. Laing has the modeſty to aſſert, that Murray's only care was about the *relevancy* of his proofs! Mr. Laing muſt ſuppoſe the intellects of his readers to be perverted indeed!

But the artful Elizabeth was not quite ſo forward as Murray wiſhed, to grant the broad aſſurance which he demanded: and, therefore, while the letters are ſhewn, as we have ſeen, at York, to Elizabeth's commiſſioners, "in a ſecret conference, and not as commiſſioners," the ſame Mr. John Wood is employed to haſten, by a letter to Cecil, her tardy movements. This letter, which alſo fully diſcovers the cool and deliberate villany of Murray, is dated at York, October the 9th, 1568. After informing Cecil that the conference is opened, the writer preſſes him, by arguments which he hopes will be effectual, to obtain the aſſurance which Murray requires.

"Now when it is at the pynche, I maiſt humbly beſeech you, Sir, to conſydder of the danger the delay may bring on ſo wechtye and ſo neceſſary ane cauſe; *and lett not* (ſo far as in your wiſdome lyeth) *ceremonyes stay and utterly undoyn so godly and so good ane work begoun; for I dar assur you that thir things being resolved, that, in furtherance of the rest of the cause, the word of the Evangile shll be accomplyshed, Et erint novissimi primi, et primi, &c. And seing now thai are proponit, if they sall not take playn and clear resolution, it may mar all the cause.*"

He then informs Cecil that Lord Herries, one of Mary's commiſſioners, and an honourable noble-ſpirited man, "does not forbear to augment ſuſpitions of the outfallings of the matter, and ſpeiks plainly and amply as to it." He farther tells the Miniſter, that John of Beton had brought 6000 crowns to Mary at Bolton, and deſires him to think what danger may enſue from her liberality.

"*Heir for, Shir,*" he adds, "*remember my ernist desyir, and lett the suyre remeid, quhilk I shew you, be haistallye prowydit in so gryitt an cause.* This far I am bold to trouble your honour, and *craif ernestlye to understand that it wald pleas the Q. majestie* TO ENCOURAGE FEARFUL SPREITTS; *and then ye wald persave the trewth wald quikly appeair.*" (Laing, Append. xvi.)

We then ſee this unconſcionable villain, John Wood, exactly treading in the infamous ſteps of the maſter-villain, Murray. He adviſes Elizabeth and her miniſters to lay aſide *all ceremony* in ſo good a cauſe, and to encourage *timid ſpirits*. And theſe are the men whoſe honeſty Mr. Laing undertakes to demonſtrate!

On the 8th of October the conferences at York began. Mary gave in a written complaint, accuſing Murray and his faction of rebellion, and uſurpation of her crown. The truth of this accuſation was ſo notorious that Murray did not attempt to deny it; but he juſtified the conduct of his party by alleging the Queen's marriage with Bothwell,

and

and the neceſſity of ſecuring the prince from the murderer of his father. With regard to his own acceptance of the regency, he reſted his defence on Mary's *voluntary* appointment of him, and voluntary reſignation of the crown. Her *voluntary* reſignation! How could even Murray have the impudence to ſpeak of it? He well knew that it was any thing but voluntary; and what credit is due to a man who is capable of advancing ſo glaring and monſtrous a falſehood? Accordingly it was eaſy for Mary to reply "that ſhe regretted, and was ever deſirous to puniſh the murder, but had no ſuſpicion that Bothwell was guilty, when acquitted by a verdict confirmed in parliament, and when recommended by almoſt all the nobility, both her adverſaries and friends, as a huſband; and that the reſignation of the crown was extorted *by the fear of death*, on the aſſurance of Throckmorton and her friends, that nothing was valid to which ſhe was compelled to aſſent in priſon" (P. 150.)

The power of truth is great. This reply is ſo ſimple, and ſo ſatisfactory, that even Mr. Laing is unable to deviſe a ſingle argument in refutation of it. Does he, therefore, nobly and generouſly allow it the force and weight to which it has a claim? No: ſuch a conceſſion would have been an indelible blot on the candid impartiality of this hiſtorian! If he cannot refute the Queen's reply, he muſt, at leaſt indirectly, have a ſide blow at it. He accordingly tells us that "her reply to Murray's defence was more plauſible than juſt;" and he proceeds to aſſure us that, "while ſhe triumphed over her opponents in argument, her commiſſioners ſecretly trembled for the reſult." (Ibid) It is ſingular that our author's reaſonings and aſſertions ſhould, in various inſtances, be in flat contradiction to his own original documents. Mr. Laing's good friend, Mr. John Wood, does not appear to us, as quoted above, to inſinuate that Mary's commiſſioners "*trembled for the reſult.*" Lord Herreis, at leaſt, is *not* repreſented by him as trembling for the reſult. But Mr. Laing aſſures us that "Leſly tacitly acknowledged the authenticity of the letters;" (p. 151.) and farther, that Mary was early informed of the impreſſion which they had made on Norfolk and her other friends "who believed them authentic; and of the honour and laſting infamy which in their opinion, her character would incur, if the accuſation ſhould proceed." (P. 152.) Great as is our reſpect for Mr. Laing, we muſt take the liberty bluntly to deny the truth of both theſe aſſertions, till Mr. Laing ſhall be pleaſed to produce the authorities on which they are founded.

"Whether ſuſpicious," ſays our author, "or not of Norfolk's intrigues, Elizabeth ſoon perceived that no progreſs would be made at York." (P. 152.) True: the conference, as Robertſon obſerves, "had hitherto diſappointed Elizabeth's views, *and produced none of thoſe diſcoveries which ſhe had expected.*" She therefore removed it to Weſtminſter. And now Murray and his faction received that aſſurance which they had all along demanded, of having their accuſation ſuſtained.

ſuſtained. On the 26th of November he gave in his charge. Elizabeth had promiſed that, as Mary was not admitted to her preſence, neither ſhould Murray and his aſſociates; but this promiſe was now, with conſummate contempt both of honour and of juſtice, totally diſregarded. The commiſſioners of Mary inſiſted on the ſame acceſs for their miſtreſs, and their claim was ſurely reaſonable. Yet, ſays Mr. Laing, "ſuch a requiſition can admit only of one interpretation." (P. 157.) "The admiſſion of their Queen to Elizabeth's preſence, as it had been refuſed from the beginning, was the more ſtrenuouſly urged, becauſe they were well aſſured that it could not be obtained." (P. 162.) It is impoſſible to read ſuch unfeeling language without indignation and contempt. *Why* could it not be obtained? Or on what principal of juſtice could it be refuſed? One would think that, in Mr. Laing's eſtimation, a character is ſanctified by hypocriſy, rebellion, and treaſon. Elſe why ſhould Murray have a better title than his ſovereign to an interview with the immaculate Virgin Queen! Mary's application was, however, rejected; and from this very rejection ariſes ſuch a preſumption of her innocence as muſt now cover her inveterate adverſaries with confuſion. Mr. Laing deduces a proof of her guilt from her aſking what ſhe knew that Elizabeth would not grant. But we maintain that had Elizabeth believed her guilty, her requeſt would have been immediately complied with. Poor Mary would then have been triumphantly produced, and at once overwhelmed with the evidence againſt her. But Elizabeth, knowing the evidence to be forged, ſaw the abſolute neceſſity of keeping her at a diſtance. This was, indeed, as Mary's commiſſioners ſaid, "a *prepoſterous order*, never uſed in any treaty or conference, yea not even in caſes of judicial procedure, to receive probation before the party was heard to anſwer to the alledgeance." This iniquitous procedure, on the part of Elizabeth, is the ſtrongeſt of all proofs in favour of Mary. On this ſubject we appeal to the common ſenſe of mankind. Let the caſe be fairly ſtated, without mention of names, and ninety-nine perſons out of every hundred will agree, we are confident, in our concluſion.

But Mr. Laing alleges, after Hume, that Mary, inſtead of anſwering Murray's accuſation, broke up the conference; and he argues that "her refuſal to proceed, at that critical moment, when the letters were ready to be produced againſt her, confirms their authenticity, and amounts to a plain acknowledgment that they afforded the moſt inconteſtible proofs of her guilt." (P. 163.) It is not to be denied that when Mary's commiſſioners were fully convinced of Elizabeth's partiality, they, at firſt, proteſted "that no further ſhould be proceeded in this conference." Can this proteſtation excite any wonder? It will certainly, however, excite aſtoniſhment that Mr. Laing ſhould argue thus, when he himſelf produces ample proofs that the conferences were *not broken up*. His own words are, "the ſequel of the conference remains to be re-examined;" (p. 176.) and he proceeds to examine it in his own way. The ſimple truth is that, though the groſs

groſs partiality and injuſtice of Elizabeth would have completely juſtified Mary in withdrawing her commiſſioners and putting an end to the conference, yet ſhe wiſely conſidered that her reputation would ſuffer, if ſhe did not give in an anſwer to the charge of her rebellious ſubjects. She therefore on the 19 h of December, inſtructs her commiſſioners to "deſire the *inſpectioun* and *doubillis* of all that thay haif producit againis us; *and that we may ſee the alledgit principal writtingis*, and if they haif ony, producit." Accordingly on the 25th. her commiſſioners make this demand, and give in the only anſwer to Murray's accuſation which, without ſeeing theſe papers, it was poſſible to give, and which the reader will find in Tytler's Inquiry, Vol. I, Pp. 138—140. Yet our author ſays that "Tytler endeavours to conceal that the conference was broken off." (P. 160.) It would, we think, be ſomewhat difficult *to conceal a thing that never had any exiſtence.* But Mr. Laing has a long note in his appendix (Number XVIII.), in which he ſettles the credit due to Tytler. "The truth obliges one," he ſays, "to declare that *Tytler did not underſtand the controverſy.*" Whatever Mr. Laing may think proper to declare, this is not the general opinion of the public, nor ever will be. He adds that Tytler "wrote like a lawyer pleading from his brief; ſelecting what was advantageous for his client, not ſolicitous to diſcover, or to aſcertain the truth." If ſo, he muſt, we think, have *underſtood* the controverſy tolerably well; for otherwiſe he might have ſelected what was as much againſt his client as for her. The charge, indeed, approaches in our opinion, very nearly to nonſenſe; for if we do not underſtand, how can we ſelect? Mr. Laing, however, has, in this place, given us moſt accurately the character of his own diſſertation, and of his whole hiſtory. "*Alieno nomine de te fabula narratur.*" It ſeems as if he had received a fee for calumniating Mary and all the ſubſequent princes of her houſe. But our author's boldneſs of aſſeveration is ſometimes in danger of confounding the careleſs or ignorant reader. Thus, in this ſame note, he tells us that "Tytler ventured to give Hume the lie, for which he was afterwards ſeverely chaſtiſed." But he who ſhall examine the diſpute (which is fully detailed in Tytler's poſtſcript) will ſoon be able to decide what credit is due to this hardy aſſeveration. The ſubject of diſpute was this very point of the conferences being broken up by Mary and her commiſſioners. If the lie was given to Hume, it was given by the public records, and not by Tytler. By the records indeed it was given effectually; and the conduct of the hiſtorian itſelf is a ſtanding proof of the truth of the charge. He confeſſed the ſuperiority of Mary's defender by conferring an honour on him which he never vouchaſed to any other of his numerous opponents. He loaded him with ſcurrility and abuſe. But let Tytler's poſtſcript be read, and then let it be ſaid on whom the chaſtiſement reſted.

At laſt the contents of Murray's caſket are produced; and Mr. Laing dilates on the exhibition of them in ſome pages (from p. 166

to 171.) of ſuch inextricable confuſion as we have tried in vain to comprehend. Nothing, however, can be clearer than the groſs iniquity of the whole procedure. On the 8th of December the rebels "produced ſeven ſeveral writings, written in French in the like Romain hand with others her writings which were ſhewn yeſterday, *and avowed by them to be written by the Queen*; which ſeven writings, being copied, were read in French, and a due collation made thereof, as near as could be, by reading and collation, and made to accord with the originals; which the ſaid Earl of Murray required to be re-delivered, and did there upon deliver the copies, being collationed." (P. 164.) Here two collations are evidently made; of the copies with the originals; and of the originals with other writings given in yeſterday, *and avowed by the rebels to be written by the Queen*. With this avowal the commiſſioners are ſatisfied. Murray receives back his pretended originals, which are, therefore, barely ſhewn and withdrawn.

"This" as Mr. Whitaker has juſtly obſerved, "certainly has all the aſpect of an *hocus-pocus* trick of diſhoneſty." In common juſtice to the accuſed Queen, to their own characters, and to their own feelings, the commiſſioners ſhould have required the evidences, on which the accuſation was grounded, to be left in the poſſeſſion of the court. They ſhould then have examined them, with the niceſt care themſelves. They ſhould have collated them, again and again, with authenticated originals. Such a haſty collation of them as they made with Murray's pretended originals, *even if theſe had been real*, could never have been ſatisfactory. A compariſon of papers, in order to aſcertain the genuineneſs or ſpurioufneſs of a hand-writing, demands a long and painful attention. And, if it is to be done in company, like the buſineſs of a commiſſion, it will neceſſarily proceed with a ſtill ſlower pace. The commiſſioners of Mary ſhould alſo have had free acceſs to them, have been allowed to collate them, day after day, with their own originals, and been permitted to tranſcribe them from end to end. But the forgeries would not bear inſpection. They would ſoon have been detected by it. They could only bear to be ſhewn, to be collated with *Murray's own ſtandards*, and then to be inſtantly withdrawn." (Vol. I. P. 131.)

On the 14th of December, Murray's originals were exhibited before the privy council. As it does not appear that Murray himſelf was preſent; theſe precious papers were probably intruſted to Cecil. They were then, ſays the journal, "duly conferred and compared, for the manner of the hand-writing, and faſhion of orthography, with ſundry other letters long ſince hereto written and ſent by the ſaid Queen of Scots to the Queen's Majeſty—in the collation whereof no difference could be found." But how were they compared? "It is to be noted that at the time of producing, ſhewing, and reading of all theſe foreſaid writings, *there was no ſpecial choice nor regard to the order of producing thereof; but the whole writings, lying altogether upon the council table, were one after another, ſhewn rather by hap, as the ſame did lie*

lie upon the table than with any choice made, as by the nature thereof, if time had ſo ſerved, might have been." The collation then, appears on the very face of it, to have been *a farce*. The very perſons employed to make it confeſs that neither care nor time was beſtowed on it. It was huddled over, without any attempt at diſcrimination, and as faſt as poſſible. Yet Mr. Laing, with unparallelled aſſurance, affirms, and even deduces it as an evident inference from the words which we have quoted, that the compariſon was made "in the moſt unexceptionable manner." If Mr. Laing really think ſo, we can only ſay that we do not envy his powers of intellect.

He thinks Whitaker very unreaſonable for maintaining that "in comparing the letters with others produced by Elizabeth, one forgery was merely collated with another." (P. 172.) And, in order to ſhew that this could not be the caſe, he obſerves that there were many members of council to whom Mary's hand was perfectly known, and who could not, of conſequence, be eaſily impoſed on. True; but our candid author chuſes to forget that Elizabeth was determined to find the letters genuine; and that theſe privy counſellors durſt not, for their lives, have called them ſpurious. The reaſoning of Whitaker is, in fact, unanſwerable. We are not, therefore, at all ſurpriſed that Mr. Laing has not attempted to anſwer it; but we are ſurpriſed that it did not convince him. We ſhall copy part of it, which, we think, will ſufficiently convince our readers.

"The letters had been authenticated, at their firſt appearance before the commiſſioners in York, by the force of affirmations and by the offer of oaths from *the very producers*. At their ſecond appearance before the commiſſioners in Weſtminſter, they had been authenticated by the written aſſeverations of *the very producers*, and by the collation of them with letters preſented by *the very producers*. And they are now authenticated pretty nearly in the ſame manner. They are now collated with letters, NOT indubitably originals themſelves, and *therefore* proper to be ſtandards of collation to the others. But they are collated with letters *that require to be previouſly collated.* They are collated with letters *furniſhed by whom?* Not, indeed, as before by the producers of the letters; *but—by their confidante and aſſociate in the buſineſs*—even by Elizabeth."

"Murray's letters were compared with ſome of Elizabeth's. Theſe are ſaid to have been written with Mary's own hand, and ſent by Mary to her. But *who witneſſed to the hand of Mary?* NO ONE! *Who witneſſed to the ſending of them by Mary?* NO ONE! We muſt take both upon the authority of Elizabeth and her privy council. But *can* we do ſo upon any principle of propriety? We cannot ſuffer either the privy council, or their preſident Elizabeth, to become at once witneſſes and judges.—But even if we cou'd do this, yet can we admit the teſtimony of either? Or to ſpeak more preciſely, as the whole centers in Elizabeth herſelf at laſt, can we admit *her* evidence upon the point? We aſſuredly cannot. We have already ſeen her ſo deceitful and ſo audacious, in all the proceedings hitherto, that we cannot, in common juſtice to Mary, lay any ſtreſs upon her evidence.

"Even if we could allow Elizabeth to be at once a witneſs and a judge, and give her ſuch a credit for probity as would make her a competent

witneſs; yet we cannot certainly admit her to teſtiſy to facts which it was abſolutely impoſſible for her to know. She could not poſſibly know that Mary wrote the produced letters to her. She did not ſee her write them. She never ſaw her write at all; nor could ſhe poſſibly know that Mary ſent them. She was not preſent when they were ſent. She did not pretend to be ſo. And ſhe did not pretend to produce any one who ſaw them ſent, who ſaw them written, or had even ſeen any thing written by Mary." (Vol. I. Pp. 119—121.)

Theſe letters are now, however, authenticated by Elizabeth's ſtandards, which were themſelves juſt as authentic as Murray's, and not a whit more ſo. They are then withdrawn, for ever; and no importunity could ever obtain a ſight of them either for Mary or for her commiſſioners. Will Mr. Laing ſay that this was juſtice? We think that, bold as he is, he will not venture to ſay ſo. Mary was now deprived for ever of the power of proving them forgeries by inſpection of the hand writing; but this very circumſtance, as Whitaker moſt convincingly argues, is equivalent to a thouſand direct proofs of their forgery. This point is ſo ably urged by that writer, and is of ſuch ſupreme importance in the cauſe, that we ſhall make no apology for inſerting part of the argument.

"Had ſhe [Mary] been *guilty;* had ſhe, *in the ſlightest degree,* been acceſſary to the crime charged upon her, and had there been even *a fair probability* of proving her guilty of the charge, in ſpite of her innocence; her enemies would have acted in a very different manner. No ambuſcade would they have laid for her. They would never have ſkulked behind the buſhes, and wounded her with inviſible ſhafts. They would have come forward into view, and engaged in open fight with her. *They would have produced the originals, with pretended regret, and with real triumph. They would have lodged them with the commissioners at York, and the commissioners at Weſtminſter. They would have compelled both to collate them carefully with private and with public, with foreign and with domeſtic, writings of Mary's.* Her commiſſioners would alſo have been *called upon* to inſpect them, *urged* to compare them, *challenged* to diſprove them. Mary herſelf would have been brought up from her confinement in the country, as ſhe frequently requeſted to be; ſuffered to enjoy *the freeſt access* to them; allowed to make *every objection* to them; and heard with all the patience of candour, for *days,* and for *weeks,* in her attempts to invalidate their authority. Such *muſt* have been the demeanor of Murray the producer, and of Elizabeth the receiver, of the letters, if they had thought her [Mary] guilty, if they had thought her *probably ſo,* or if they had thought her ſo *in appearance only.* And a conduct, totally the reverſe of all this, proves, what they never reflected it would prove, the falſehood of their own pretences, and the profligacy of their own conduct; Knaves little think, when they are exerting their arts of impoſition, and exhauſting their fund of deceit, for the proſecution and concealment of their ſcandalous purpoſes, that they are telling the world they are ſcandalous, by their very concealment." (Vol. I. Pp. 132—134.

Our author contends that Norfolk thought the letters genuine; and that he told his confidential ſervant Banniſter ſo. "Whereby," ſays

ſays Banniſter, "I verily thought that his Grace could never join in marriage with her." We think, however, that the declaration of the Duke himſelf is entitled to as much credit as that of Banniſter, and his Grace when examined, before his trial, concerning his interview with Lethington in the fields at York, anſwered that Lethington, who told him that he was a friend to the Queen, "moved this examinant to think her not guilty; and then alſo moved this examinant to like of a marriage with the ſaid Queen." But from this declaration, in our author's opinion, no argument for Norfolk's perſuaſion of her innocence can be derived. We ſhall give his reaſon in his own words; and it is, we conceive, ſuch a ſpecimen of logic as is ſeldom to be met with.

"If Lethington," he ſays, "firſt moved the Duke to think her innocent, then *moved* him to like of a marriage, the word *move*, to perſuade or propoſe, muſt in both inſtances receive the ſame interpretation, but it never can ſignify that Lethington ſo moved, or perſuaded the Duke to think her innocent, that he alſo moved or perſuaded, rather than urged or importuned him to like of that marriage. But the word is evidently uſed in an equivocal ſenſe, by a faint declaration of her innocence to extenuate her marriage, to which Norfolk was inſtigated by ambition, when convinced of her guilt." (Pp. 174—175.)

If our readers can make any thing at all of this we ſhall be glad; for our own part, we can make nothing of it. Mr. Laing does not appear to us a very plain interpreter. But one thing is evident. If Lethington *moved* the Duke of Norfolk to think Mary *not guilty*, he muſt have given him proofs of her innocence; for that is the only way in which one perſon can be moved to think another not guilty. And this was exactly what Lethington did. He aſſured the Duke that the letters were forgeries; which no other perſon could do with more effect, becauſe he himſelf had forged them. But Norfolk's preſuming to think Mary innocent coſt him his life. It was a crime which could not poſſibly be forgiven either by Murray or by Elizabeth. This popular and virtuous nobleman was induced, in an evil hour, to make Murray his confident. The vile unprincipled wretch betrayed him, and brought him to the block. Indeed his conduct to Norfolk ſufficiently marks the character of Murray, and ſhews that he was capable of every crime. The *godly* regent had not *one particle of virtue*. "He deceived and betrayed Norfolk," ſays Robertſon, "with a baſeneſs unworthy of a man of honour."

Although Mr. Laing is unable to conceal that Mary repeatedly and earneſtly requeſted inſpection of Murray's pretended originals, or, at leaſt to have copies of them, and was unfortunately refuſed; yet he labours hard, with his uſual candour, to perſuade the reader that, from this refuſal, no preſumption ariſes either againſt Mary's guilt or Elizabeth's juſtice. He pretends that Mary refuſed to anſwer, and was, therefore, not entitled to have Murray's proofs laid before her. Mary never *refuſed* to anſwer; and how could ſhe anſwer to an

accuſation, ſupported by letters alledged by her accuſers to be written by herſelf, without ſeeing thoſe letters? If they were withheld, ſhe could only *affirm* that they were forgeries; but if they were communicated, ſhe pledged herſelf to *prove* them ſo. But ſays Mr. Laing: "the demand of copies without a reciprocal obligation to anſwer to the letters without exception, was merely an oſtenſible pretext to their relevancy, or the competency of the accuſers, and can only ſignify that no direct anſwer was intended to be made." (P. 194.) What does Mr. Laing mean by a *direct* anſwer? Was not Mary entitled, in common juſtice, to make the beſt defence that ſhe could? Was ſhe not entitled to object to the relevancy of the letters, as well as to prove that they were forged, and of courſe that her accuſers were undeſerving of credit? Mr. Laing preſumes that Mary would have made a frivolous defence. We aſk him what right he has to preſume ſo? "If admitted to an audience," he ſays, "her defence would have terminated in the moſt futile pretenſions of her own innocence; the moſt frivolous objections to the production or compariſon of the letters with the former writings." (P. 208.) Again we aſk, what right has Mr. Laing to make ſuch aſſertions? But ſuppoſing that Mary had done all this, was ſhe therefore to be deprived of juſtice? Our author, indeed, ſeems to have ſtrange notions of this virtue; and we ſincerely hope, from that regard we bear for our fellow ſubjects of Scotland, that he will never be made a judge in that kingdom. Our author, when ſeated on the criminal bench, leſt the perſons accuſed ſhould make *a bad defence*, would deny them the means of making *any* defence. And if they inſiſted on thoſe common privileges which law, as well as humanity, ſecures to perſons in their unhappy ſituation, he would tell them that the court had determined otherwiſe, and reprove them for their inſolence. In this manner at leaſt he treats poor Mary. When her commiſſioners make the moſt reaſonable demands, the refuſal of which it is impoſſible to juſtify, Mr. Laing infers that they were only trifling, becauſe they aſked what "they were well aſſured could not be obtained." (P. 162.) And "what they knew would not be granted." (P. 194.) And thus the flagrant injuſtice of the Engliſh Queen is, by "the quibbling of this her Scottiſh advocate," advanced as an argument in proof of her juſtice!

But, in this caſe, all quibbling is evidently uſeleſs. It is perfectly unneceſſary to accompany Mr. Laing through his tedious detail of the different appearances of Mary's commiſſioners, and of Elizabeth's evaſive anſwers to their demands. One ſimple argument is deciſive of the queſtion. Not only the ſubſtantial ends of juſtice, but the very appearance of juſtice demanded that Murray's pretended documents ſhould have been readily, inſtantly, and without waiting for her aſking, communicated to Mary. If Mary had made an improper uſe of theſe documents, Elizabeth and her privy council in the firſt place, and poſterity in the laſt reſort, were judges of her conduct. But to deny her the inſpection of theſe papers for fear ſhe ſhould

make

make an improper uſe of them is ſuch an inſult on the common feelings of mankind as is without a parallel. The unſophiſticated ſentiments of the human mind proclaim with irreſiſtible force, that, while copies of theſe letters were retained by Elizabeth; Mary ſhould have been put in poſſeſſion of the originals: why was not this the caſe? One reaſon, and but one, can be aſſigned. Elizabeth and Murray were ſenſible that they durſt not expoſe their cauſe to ſuch a certainty of defeat. Every ſtep in the procedure diſcloſes a new proof of their conſummate villany and of Mary's unheard of wrongs. Had they thought their abominable forgeries to be in no danger of detection, they would not have heſitated, for a ſingle moment, to expoſe them to all the world. But had they known theſe papers to be authentic, they would have forced them upon Mary and her commiſſioners. They would not have allowed a ſingle day to paſs without eagerly preſſing their papers on them, and clamorouſly demanding a refutation of their contents. Inſtead of this, Elizabeth, from time to time, makes the moſt frivolous and impudent excuſes for not communicating them. And at laſt, when all topics of excuſe are exhauſted, ſhe diſmiſſes Murray with theſe pretended proofs, that ſhe may not be harraſſed with any farther applications.

Here then we take our ſtation on ground which we challenge Mr. Laing to diſpute. If he has courage he will diſpute it; but we have not, we acknowledge, much fear on the ſubject. We believe that Mr. Laing would be as ſucceſsful in controverting our concluſion as in an attempt to prove that two and three make ten. Yet, on ſecond thought, we are forced to own that we have here expreſſed ourſelves with rather too much confidence. For this learned hiſtorian is ſuch a maſter of reaſoning that we ſhould not be ſurprized if he undertook to prove that two and three make ten. *He has actually undertaken to prove (what ſeems not leſs difficult) the exiſtence of an acknowledged non entity.* This will, probably, make our readers ſtare; and we do not wonder at their aſtoniſhment. But our aſſertion is ſimply and literally true, as we now proceed to ſhew. The firſt paragraph of Mr. Laing's fourth Chapter contains this very ſingular argument, which deſerves to be written in letters of gold, and which we ſhall, therefore, copy without any abridgement.

"Here then I may ſecurely reſt, and before we proceed to a critical examination of the letters and ſonnets, *let us admit for once, that whatsoever Mary's apologists have aſſerted is true, and whatever evidence her opponents have produced is falſe.* Let us admit, with Whitaker, that her adverſaries have produced two caſkets, like the two Dromios, when there was, in fact, but one, which, inſtead of Letters, ſonnets or contracts, contained the jewels of which they had deſpoiled the Queen on her removal to Lochlevin. Let us admit that the letters were not intercepted on the 20th of June, nor Dalglieſh, the ſuppoſed bearer, apprehended till July 18th., becauſe his name is not once mentioned by Throckmorton till then. Let us believe that the firſt idea of the *forgery* originated on the 24th of July, above a month after the date aſſigned for the diſcovery of the letters; that to implicate Mary in the murder of her huſband was then the deſign, but that it

was altered or limited, in a ſubſequent draught of the letters, to her adultery with Bothwell. *Let us also admit that the letters were forged a third time when produced in the privy council, December 4th,* to the number of four or five, in the Scottiſh Language, with ſubſcriptions, dates, directions, but (as Mary retained her own ſignet in Lochlevin Caſtle,) without the guard or impreſſion of a ſeal; *that they were forged anew, before the Parliament met on the 15th,* in order to abſtract the ſignatures and directions to Bothwell; and that the ſame letters, in July 1568, were ſent to England as tranſlations from the French, when the idea of a French original firſt occurred. According to the ſame author [Whitaker], the French ſonnets were then forged; (as were alſo the contracts in September,) to ſupport the evidence of the adulterous letters, which were produced at York, to the number of five, in their original Scotch, dated half at Glasgow, half at Stirling: but in the interval between the two conferences, they were again forged and produced at Weſtminſter, in the French language, and without any dates. Let us farther admit that their number was ſtill five; as of ſeven French writings, produced on the 8th of December, there were five letters, the ſonnets and contracts; but that others juſt appeared on the 7th, and were again withdrawn; and that three additional letters were afterwards forged, as eight letters were afterwards publiſhed. In ſhort let us allow with Goodall, that a man might eaſily forge an hundred of the Queen's ſubſcriptions in a ſingle day; with Camden, that Lethington privately intimated that he had counterfeited the Queen's hand more than once; or with Whitaker, that it was almoſt as eaſy to execute, and to repeat the forgery, as to aſſert that the letters were five times forged. *Still, however,* WHEN THESE ASSERTIONS ARE ALL ADMITTED, HER REFUSAL TO ANSWER, UNLESS TO THE RELEVANCY, *when copies had been twice offered if ſhe would return a direct anſwer to the letters themſelves,* CONSTITUTES A FULL ACKNOWLEDGEMENT THAT THE SUPPOSED FORGERIES WERE HER GENUINE HAND WRITING, *the authenticity of which ſhe was unable to diſpute.*" (Pp. 209—211.)

This is ſuch a ſingular ſpecimen of reaſoning as, we conceive, was never exhibited before. *Though all Murray's papers ſhould be admitted to be flagrant forgeries, yet Mary's refuſal to anſwer made them genuine, and converted them, in the twinkling of an eye, into her own hand-writing!* What cannot omnipotent genius effect? It can metamorphoſe abſurdity into ſenſe, and reconcile the moſt glaring contradictions, as eaſily as comment on an old ſong, or publiſh an old manuſcript! It is natural to aſk Mr. Laing again what he means by *a direct anſwer to the letters?* The proper anſwer, we ſuppoſe, would have been to prove that they were not written by Mary. How was this to be done but from the letters themſelves? Even *copies*, in this caſe, were of ſmall utility for Mary's defence. But neither copies nor originals were even put in her power; and Mr. Laing infers that the letters were genuine becauſe ſhe did not return an anſwer which ſhe never had the means of returning! We ſhall draw a very different inference, which we think rather better founded than Mr. Laing's; and we ſay that "the ſcandalous conduct of Murray and of his friend Elizabeth, in refuſing to communicate to Mary the pretended original letters, *conſtitutes a full acknowledgment that theſe originals were forgeries, the authenticity of which it was impoſſible to maintain.*"

(To be continued.)

The Plays of Philip Maſſenger, in four Volumes, with Notes critical and explanatory. By W. Gifford, Eſq. 8vo. G. and W. Nicoll. 1805.

WHEN we took up this work, we took it up with the idea of finding that part of it which conſiſts of the notes, like thoſe notes which have ſo generally accompanied the modern editions of our ancient writers, and eſpecially of our great poet—notes where every thing is to be found but what the reader wants—where obſcure paſſages are explained into greater obſcurity, and incorrect phraſes made more incorrect by conjectural amendment. Neither did the high opinion we entertain of the editor's abilities deliver us from this apprehenſion, as in the variorum editions of Shakeſpear, we ſee the mania of criticiſm diſgracing many names who ſtand higheſt in literary eſtimation. We find a Warburton, a Johnſon, a Blackſtone, making obſervations and propoſing alterations that would not be tolerable in a boy of ten years old.

But very different indeed is the complexion of the work before us now. As an editor, Mr. Gifford has ſpared no pains in examining and collating the old editions, to bring forward the real words of the poet, in the place of what fanciful and taſteleſs criticiſm has ſubſtituted for them; and when the incorrectneſs of the old copies has made conjectural alteration abſolutely neceſſary; it is always done ſo, as to mark the hand of a man of genius and ability, and offered at the ſame time with that diffidence which diſtinguiſhes the man of real ſcience from the raſh and ignorant empiric.

Mr. Gifford has prefixed to this edition an eſſay on the writings of Maſſenger, by Dr. John Ferriar, written in 1786; and every play is followed by a judicious criticiſm and analyſis from the pen of his learned friend, Dr. Ireland, which do the higheſt honour to his ability and diſcrimination.

Before we proceed to examine the edition, and the notes, we ſhall firſt make ſome obſervations on Mr. Gifford's introduction.

Mr. Gifford very juſtly reprobates the inaccuracy of the preceding editions of Maſſenger, and ridicules the vain boaſtings of the two laſt editors, Meſſrs. Coxeter and M. Maſon, (eſpecially the latter), who, with the boldeſt aſſertions of ſuperior ſkill in arranging the text, have ſhewn themſelves, among all the commentators, *facile principes* in error and abſurdity. We feel what the author ſays of the general practice of annotators ſo juſt, that we ſhall lay it before our readers.

" I come now to the notes. Thoſe who are accuſtomed to the crowded pages of our modern editors, will probably be ſomewhat ſtartled at the comparative nakedneſs of mine. If this be an error, it is a voluntary one. I never could conceive why the readers of our old dramatiſts ſhould be ſuſpected of labouring under a greater degree of ignorance than thoſe of any other claſs of writers; yet, from the trite and inſignificant materials amaſſed for their information, it is evident that a perſuaſion of this nature is uncommonly prevalent. Cuſtoms which are univerſal, and expreſſions " familiar

as houſehold words" in every mouth, are illuſtrated, that is to ſay, overlaid, by an immenſity of parallel paſſages, with juſt as much wiſdom and reach of thought as would be evinced by him who, to explain any ſimple word in this line, ſhould empty upon the reader all the examples to be found under it in Johnſon's Dictionary!"

It is the common fault of tranſlators and editors to be wantonly laviſh of their praiſe of the author they are illuſtrating. From this idle partiality Mr. Gifford is entirely free; and when he ſays, that he undertook his preſent taſk for the purpoſe of enabling the author to take his place on the ſame ſhelf, not indeed with Shakeſpear, but with Johnſon, Beaumont, and his aſſociate Fletcher, we think he gives him leſs than his due. Few, very few, of Johnſon's dramas are now read; and for conduct of fable, delineation of manners, and harmony of language, Maſſenger is much ſuperior to Beaumont and Fletcher. But this triumvirate had ſo got poſſeſſion of the public mind at the time Maſſenger wrote, that it was looked on as a kind of literary treaſon to put any other name in competition with it; and we find theſe lines in a copy of congratulatory verſes ſent to our poet:

> "I know you'd take it for an injury,
> And 'tis a well-becoming modeſty,
> To be parallel'd with Beaumont, or to hear
> Your name by ſome too partial friend writ near
> Unequall'd Johnſon."

The Eſſay of Dr. Ferriar is ſtrongly tinctured with the partiality we have alluded to, when he ſays, "Maſſenger is an author not often much inferior, and ſometimes nearly equal, to Shakeſpear." Becauſe the nature of our old drama, the conſtruction of the fable, and the idiom of the language, threw a general colour over all theſe contemporary dramatic poets, to draw any compariſon as to general poetic merit between Beaumont and Fletcher, and Maſſenger, and *one* of the greateſt, perhaps *the* greateſt, original poet that ever exiſted, from a reſemblance ariſing from ſuch circumſtances, is ſurely beyond the ſpan of ſober criticiſm. Dr. Ferriar proceeds to confirm his opinion, by comparing detached paſſages of the two poets. We have followed him through theſe quotations, and think every one of them proves the contrary to his hypotheſis: but we ſhall not take up our pages with the compariſon; for, did they not, ſtill the reſult would be nothing; for no man can be ſo blind to the faults of Shakeſpear, and the beauties of Maſſenger, as not to ſee that many detached paſſages may be produced from both, in which the latter will be evidently ſuperior to the former: but if this be adopted as any criterion of general merit, Thomſon and Akenſide may be put in competition with Milton.

We ſhall now proceed to make a few obſervations on the notes, which occurred to us on a careful peruſal of them. In a note on a paſſage in the Unnatural Combat, Mr. G. obſerves, that "Marſeilles, or, as Maſſenger ſpells it, Marſellis, is conſtantly uſed by him as a triſyllable, which in fact it is." This fact is ſo true, that at this moment

ment every draper in London puts Marcella waiſtcoats, in his printed ſhopbills, for waiſtcoats made of Marſeilles quilting.

In a note on another part of the ſame play, it is obſerved, that to *pull or pluck down a ſide* was an alluſion to a party at cards, but it was alſo applied to any other game where the want of ſkill in one of the party was injurious to his own ſide. Roger Aſcham applies it to an unſkilful archer. We will quote the paſſage, as there is a note on it by the editor of Aſcham that may fairly ſtand by the ſide of the notes of M. Maſon, Coxeter, and Stevens. Aſcham ſays, "Other that never learned to ſhoot will be as buſy as the beſt; but ſuch a one commonly *plucketh down a ſide*, and crafty archers which be againſt him will be both glad of him, and alſo ever ready to lay a bet with him." This the ſagacious commentator both corrects and explains; he alters *a ſide* to *aſide*, and then ſays, "*To pluck down aſide*, I believe, is to ſhoot on one ſide into the ground."

This note on the Duke of Milan is ſo juſt, that, though it implicates our great poet, we muſt accede to it:—

"In the management of preparatory hints, Maſſenger ſurpaſſes all his contemporaries. In Beaumont and Fletcher, the end ſometimes forgets the beginning; and even Shakeſpear is not entirely free from inattentions of a ſimilar nature. I will not here praiſe the general felicity of our author's plots; but, whatever they were, he ſeems to have minutely arranged the component parts before a line of the dialogue was written."

A note that almoſt immediately follows this deſerves our particular notice.

"Nothing more ſtrongly marks the poverty of the ſtage in thoſe times, than the frequent alluſions we find to the ſize of the actors, which may be conſidered as a kind of apology to the audience. It is not poſſible to aſcertain who played the part of Mariana, but it was, not improbably, Theophilus Bourne, who acted Paulina in *the Renegado*, where an expreſſion of the ſame nature occurs. Domitilla, in *the Roman Actor*, is alſo little; ſhe was played by John Hunnieman. I do not condemn theſe indirect apologies; indeed, there appears to be ſomething of good ſenſe in them, and of proper deference to the underſtandings of the audience. At preſent, we run intrepidly into every ſpecies of abſurdity; men and women, unwieldy at once from age and fatneſs, take upon them the parts of active boys and girls; and it is not only in a pantomime that we are accuſtomed to ſee children of ſix feet high in leading ſtrings!"

We have ſeen this lately carried to an exceſs of abſurdity that wants a name. We have ſeen parts of lovers and tyrants acted by a child: we have ſeen theatres crowded, and applauding, with almoſt frantic enthuſiaſm, a ſcene (we mean in the play of the Mountaineers) where a boy, unarmed, took one of the largeſt actors on the ſtage, armed with an enormous ſcymeter, by the throat, threw him down, and put his foot on him; and this in the metropolis of the Britiſh empire in the 19th century!

On

On a paſſage in the Renegado, it is obſerved, that *fire* muſt be read as a diſſyllable, to complete the verſe. The ſame obſervation is, in another place, made on the word *heir*, though Mr. Gifford ſays he does not know how it can be done. In our review of Mr. Mitford's Eſſay on the Harmony of Language, we remarked, that every long vowel, when followed by an *r*, had the ſhort ſound of *u*, as in *cur*, added to it. We pronounce *fire* exactly as we do *higher*, and *heir* as we do *player*. The moſt faſtidious critic in rhymes, not even Mr. Gilbert Wakefield himſelf, were he alive, would object to them as rhymes; and yet ſurely *player* and *higher may* be pronounced as diſſyllables, though we allow not with very good effect.

The courſe of our progreſs has brought us to the Parliament of Love, a play of Maſſenger's, now firſt given to the public from a MS. of Mr. Malone, of which Mr. Gifford ſays,

"I have already mentioned my obligations to Mr. Malone for the uſe of the manuſcript, with permiſſion to inſert it in the preſent edition, of which it forms no inconſiderable ornament: it is here given with the moſt ſcrupulous fidelity, not a word, not a ſyllable, being altered or omitted, except in one or two inſtances, where the inadvertence of the old copyiſt had occaſioned a palpable blunder, of which the remedy was as certain as the diſcovery was eaſy.

"It would not have required much pains, or the exertion of much ingenuity, to ſupply moſt of the chaſms occaſioned by the defect of the manuſcript, which are here pointed out by ſhort lines: but it ſeemed the ſafer method to preſent them as they ſtood. The reader may now be confident that all is genuine, and exerciſe his ſkill in filling up the vacant ſpaces, in a manner moſt conſonant to his own opinion of the drift of the author. He muſt not flatter himſelf with the hope of further aids, for unleſs another manuſcript of this play ſhould be diſcovered, (of which there is little probability,) no ſubſequent reſearches will add to what is now before him. Such, unfortunately, is the decayed ſtate of the preſent, that with every precaution which the moſt anxious concern could ſuggeſt, it crumbled under the inſpection: a repetition, therefore, of my labours, which I ſcarcely think will be lightly undertaken, will produce nothing but diſappointment; ſince many lines, and fragments of lines, which are faithfully copied in the ſucceeding pages, will be found in it no more.

"I cannot entertain a doubt but that this curious relick will be peruſed with uncommon intereſt; at leaſt, with all that perfect novelty can give: ſince it is highly probable, that not a ſingle page of it has been read by any perſon now in exiſtence."

The lovers of our ancient drama are under much obligation for the labour of Mr. Gifford. Though the play does not rank with the firſt of Maſſenger's productions, it certainly poſſeſſes many beauties; and the happineſs of conjecture when it is hazarded, and the modeſty with which it is declined when the ſucceſs of it is doubtful, in the reſtoration of this mutilated fragment, fully juſtify the opinion of Mr. Gifford's ability as an editor, which we gave at the beginning of our review of this work.

In

In this play we find this extraordinary paſſage:

" Perillus' brazen bull, the *English rack*,
The German pincers, or the *Scotch* oil'd boots,
Though joined to-gether, yet come ſhort of torture,
To their full merit."

Here we have the two diviſions of Great Britain, marked κατ' ἐξοχην for their inſtruments of that diabolical cruelty, which we can now hardly believe to have exiſted in this country, and that at an æra (the age of Elizabeth) which we are apt to contemplate with veneration.

In the text of the firſt ſcene of the Great Duke of Florence, this edition reads,

" Their houſhold Lars *whom* they believed had power," &c.

On which is the following note:

" Mr. Maſon chooſes to read of his own authority,
" Their houſhold Lars *who* they believed, &c."

But if it be allowable to correct a grammatical error, M. Maſon is right here. The relative is not governed by *they believed*, which is a parentheſis, but is the nominative caſe to *had power*.

The account of the dance called Lavolta is ſo curious, that we give the whole note.

" *A light* lavolta *with her*.] What the dance here alluded to is, I cannot tell, nor can I find an explanation of the word in any dictionary.—Coxeter and M. Mason.

" That's a pity! Dictionaries, generally ſpeaking, are not the places to look for terms of this kind, which ſhould be ſought in the kindred writings of contemporary authors. *Lavolta* (literally, *the turn*) was a dance originally imported, with many others, from Italy. It is frequently mentioned by our old writers, with whom it was a favourite; and is ſo graphically deſcribed by Sir John Davies, in his *Orcheſtra*, that all further attempts to explain it muſt be ſuperfluous:

' Yet is there one, the moſt delightful kind,
A lofty jumping, or a leaping round,
Where, arm in arm, two dancers are entwin'd,
And whirl themſelves in ſtrict embracements bound.'

" Our countrymen, who ſeem to be lineally deſcended from Siſyphus, and who, at the end of every century, uſually have their work to do over again, after proudly importing from Germany the long-exploded traſh of their own nurſeries, have juſt brought back from the ſame country, and with an equal degree of exultation, the well-known *lavolta* of their grandfathers, under the mellifluous name of the *waltz!*"

Lance-prezado.—For the explanation of this word, Mr. G. quotes the *Soldiers' Accidence.* " The loweſt range and meaneſt officer of an army is called the *lance peſado* or *preſado*, who is the leader or governor of half a file." The lance-peſado, in our old armies, when the flower of the troops were cavalry, was a horſe-ſoldier, who, on his horſe

horſe being killed, joined the infantry, and had then the loweſt degree of command given him, receiving his name from his weapon. At this day, when a private ſoldier is appointed to act as corporal *pro tempore*, he is called a *lance corporal*.

In a note on The Picture, on the erroneous pronunciation of the name Eubălus, Mr. Gifford obſerves, that Maſſenger, though a ſcholar, pronounces Eubulus much as Shakeſpear would have done; but the fact is, that, long after the time of Shakeſpear, Greek was univerſally pronounced according to the accentual marks. The preſent mode of reading is mentioned by Weſt, in his Pindar, as an improvement then juſt adopted at Eton. We find Cleomēnes *paſſim* in the play of Dryden, who was a ſcholar, and Εὑρηκα pronounced as it is accented, in a college exerciſe of Prior.

After the play of the Fatal Dowry, beſides the judicious criticiſms of Dr. Ireland, the compariſon of that play with the Fair Penitent of Rowe, from Mr. Cumberland's Obſerver, is added; where the inferiority of the copy to the original is clearly pointed out. It is ſomething ſingular, that, while Rowe ſo boldly plundered the incidents of Maſſenger, he ſhould have taken ſo little of his language. This is the only inſtance pointed out by Mr. Gifford.

> " And let theſe tears, an emblem of our loves,
> Like cryſtal rivers individually,
> Flow into one another, make one ſource
> Which never man diſtinguiſh, leſs divide."—MASSENGER.

> " Are you not mixed, like ſtreams of meeting rivers,
> Whoſe blended waters are no more diſtinguiſh'd,
> But roll into the ſea one common flood?"—ROWE.

In a note on the City Madam, Mr. Gifford obſerves, that *waiſt-coateer* was, in the language of our old plays, " a cant term for a ſtrumpet of the loweſt kind." It was uſed in this ſenſe ſo late as the time of Thomas Brown, of facetious memory, who applies it, in his Dialogues of the Dead, to the eleven thouſand virgins who were ſaid to have accompanied St. Urſula.

In a note on A Very Woman, Mr. Gifford, in oppoſition to Mr. Stevens, rightly explains *an end* by *perpetually, without intermiſſion*. To the examples he brings from our old writers, and from the dedication of the Divine Legation of Moſes, may be added the common phraſe of the hunter; *running an end* is applied to a hare, when ſhe perſiſts in running forward, without doubling or making a ring.

The remark, that by *jewel* our old writers meant not ſo much a ſingle precious ſtone, as a trinket formed of ſeveral, is perfectly juſt. During the civil wars in the ſeventeenth century, the Houſe of Commons frequently voted a ſum of money to a ſucceſsful General to buy him a jewel.

We ſhall conclude our obſervations by again congratulating the public on this valuable edition of the works of a poet, who the more he is known the more he will be admired, and who, though we can by

no

no means allow any compariſon with Shakeſpear, is certainly in moſt reſpects equal, and in many much ſuperior to Beaumont and Fletcher. We might notice a few inſtances, but they are very few, where Mr. Gifford runs into the error of other commentators in explaining what does not require explanation; as, for inſtance, the note on *calvered ſalmon*, which is now as common in every fiſhmonger's ſhop as crimped ſcate. But the general character of theſe notes is, that they are exactly what notes ſhould be on an author ſometimes obſcure and ſometimes mutilated.

A ſhort Statement of ſome important Facts relative to the Election of a Mathematical Profeſſor in the Univerſity of Edinburgh; accompanied with Original Papers, and Critical Remarks. Third Edition. Pp. 140. Cadell and Davies. 1805.

THOUGH this publication may ſeem at firſt ſight to be only of local importance, yet it was to be expected that it might poſſeſs ſomewhat of general intereſt from the celebrity of the Univerſity to which it refers, the interference of the preſbytery of Edinburgh on the ground of certain metaphyſical notions incorporated, as they pretended, with the national creed, and, finally, from the reputation of the Profeſſor who has ſtood forth as the advocate of the newly elected mathematical Profeſſor, and of the intereſts of the Univerſity. This expectation is not diſappointed. The Short Statement branches out into general queſtions of the firſt importance in philoſophy as well as into the intriguing ſpirit which is incident to all bodies of men, even divines not excepted, and into ſeveral particulars which ſerve to contraſt the preſent ſpirit of Scotland with that of the times of the covenant, and the lords of the congregation. A portion of that ſpirit was aſſumed by a ſmall faction, and that too one noted for an oppoſite ſpirit, for their own purpoſe, but immediately ſubdued by the general voice of the church and the nation.

THE UNIVERSITY of Edinburgh having, on the 30th January, 1805, been deprived of one of its ableſt ſupporters and brighteſt ornaments, by the death of the late Dr. John Robiſon, a very general ſolicitude was felt, not only by his colleagues, but by all who take an intereſt in the proſperity of that city as a ſeat of learning, that his place ſhould be ſupplied by ſome perſon qualified to ſucceed to ſuch a predeceſſor. The right of election is veſted in the Lord Provoſt, magiſtrates, and town council of Edinburgh. A ſufficient opportunity was afforded for candidates in every part of the iſland to bring forward their pretenſions; and a determination was openly announced by the chief magiſtrate (Sir William Fettes, Bart.) to be guided in his choice by no conſideration but the comparative merit of the competitors and the weight of recommendation which they ſhould ſeverally claim. The firſt candidate who appeared was the Rev. Thomas Macknight, one of the miniſters of Edinburgh, who had been occaſionally

ſionally employed by Mr. Robiſon as an aſſiſtant. Mr. Macknight's aim was to hold both his parochial charge and the profeſſorſhip. The pretenſions of Mr. Macknight were countenanced by a perſon of great political weight in the councils of Edinburgh, Mr. Roger Ranken, late convenor of the trades, and tailor to his Majeſty. Mr. Stewart alarmed, as well as many others of his colleagues, at theſe circumſtances, reſolved to addreſs himſelf directly to the chief magiſtrate. At the ſame time the contents of his letter ſhew that he was not actuated by any wiſh to exclude from the Scotch univerſities thoſe miniſters of the church of Scotland, whoſe literary attainments, or taſte for the ſciences, might lead them to prefer the duties of an academical life to thoſe connected with the exerciſe of their clerical functions. After mentioning ſome circumſtance tending with great force to impreſs his mind with a peculiar concern for the proſperity of the Univerſity, he demonſtrates to his Lordſhip, the provoſt, the diſadvantageous and pernicious conſequences to be apprehended from uniting profeſſorſhips with eccleſiaſtical livings. The conſiderations briefly ſtated by Profeſſor Stewart were ſeconded, at greater length, and with great ability by Profeſſor Playfair. Among a variety of other remarks, very cloſe to the purpoſe, Mr. P. obſerves—

"That a Profeſſor of Mathematics, in the Univerſity, will have a great deal more to do than merely to give lectures. He will dedicate a large portion of his time, to his own improvement, to the ſtudy of thoſe diſcoveries that have been made, and that are continually making, over all Europe; and he will ſeek to extend the bounds of ſcience by new and original inveſtigations. This is the only way of diſcharging his duty, ſo as to improve knowledge, and to do credit to the Univerſity and himſelf. The Profeſſor who takes this view of the matter, and is a real lover of ſcience, will not feel much deſire to have more work put into his hands, or to have the number of avocations increaſed. Indeed it is the man who is the beſt qualified to be a profeſſor of mathematics who will find the duties of his office the fulleſt occupation for him, and the more he is fitted to diſcharge them well the leſs leiſure he will find for other purſuits."

The different candidates had enjoyed an opportunity of collecting whatever teſtimonies they were able to procure, when the town council of Edinburgh elected Mr. John Leſlie, author of "An Experimental Enquiry concerning Heat," and for which he had received Count Rumford's prize for the beſt eſſay on that ſubject, by the unanimous reſolution of the council of the Royal Society of London.

Reports had already been propagated againſt Mr. Leſlie's principles by the friends of Mr. Macknight, and their faction, in the Preſbytery of Edinburgh. But, a day or two before the election, a diſcovery was made of a very dangerous doctrine inculcated in a note ſubjoined to his "Experimental Inquiry into the Nature and Propagation of Heat;" a doctrine which, it was ſaid, involved all the Atheiſtical principles of Mr. Hume's philoſophy. The paſſage is this:

"Mr. Hume is the firſt, as far as I know, who has treated cauſation in a truly philoſophical manner. His 'Eſſay on Neceſſary Connexion,' ſeems a clear

clear model of accurate reaſoning. But it wanted only to diſpel the cloud of myſtery which had ſo long darkened that important ſubject. The unſophiſticated ſentiments of mankind are in perfect union with the deductions of logic, and imply nothing more at bottom, in the relation of cauſe or effect, than a *constant and invariable sequence*. This will diſtinctly appear from a critical examination of language."

"If," ſays Mr. Stewart, "Mr. Leſlie, in the foregoing extract, had qualified the firſt ſentence by ſaying, that Mr. Hume's Eſſay on Neceſſary Connexion (ſo far as it relates to phyſical cauſes and effects merely) is a model of clear and accurate reaſoning, the ſlighteſt objection could not have been made to his aſſertion. But it was of phyſical cauſes alone that Mr. Leſlie could be ſuppoſed to ſpeak. His argument is directed againſt the unphiloſophical ſuppoſition of the agency of ſome inviſible INTERMEDIA to account for the phenomena of gravitation, a ſuppoſition by the way which has always been conſidered hitherto as one of the moſt dangerous weapons of the Atheiſt; and after remarking that ſuch theories ſerve only to torture the imagination, without obviating or leſſening the difficulty, he concluded with the following very juſt and ſtriking reflection, 'It is a remarkable and inſtructive fact in the hiſtory of philoſophy, that impulſion ſhould have been at one period the only force that was admitted. The motion of a falling was certainly not leſs familiar to the ſenſes than that of a ſtone which is thrown: but in the latter caſe the contact of the hand was obſerved to precede the flight of the projectile; and this circumſtance, which ſeemed to fill up the void, ſatisfied the imagination. Gravitation ſounded like an occult quality; it was neceſſary to aſſign ſome mechanical cauſe; and if there were no viſible impulſes to account for the weight of a body, might not that office be performed by ſome ſubtle inviſible agent.' Such was the ſway of metaphyſical prejudice that even Newton, forgetting his uſual caution, ſuffered himſelf to be borne along. In an evil hour he threw out thoſe haſty conjectures concerning æther which have ſince proved ſo alluring to ſuperficial thinkers, and which have, in a very ſenſible degree, impeded the progreſs of genuine ſcience."

Mr. Leſlie, the moment after he received intelligence of an intended meeting of the miniſters of Edinburgh to oppoſe his election, inſtantly tranſmitted a letter to the Rev. Dr. Hunter, Profeſſor of Divinity in the Univerſity of Edinburgh, in which he declares that the note in queſtion (above ſtated) "referred entirely to the relation between cauſe and effect, conſidered as an object of phyſical inveſtigation, being a more full illuſtration of ſome reaſonings in the text, in oppoſition to the unphiloſophical theories which attempt to explain the phenomena of gravitation, &c. by means of inviſible æthers." The ſentiments expreſſed by Mr. Leſlie received Profeſſor Hunter's approbation. But the miniſters of Edinburgh remonſtrated againſt the meaſure of proceeding to the election of a Profeſſor of Mathematics till the advice of the miniſters of Edinburgh ſhould be regularly received, alleging that they poſſeſſed, in the election of Profeſſors, a right of AVISAMENTUM.* The miniſters alſo ſet forth in their remonſtance,

* "On this queſtion it was determined by the Supreme Civil Court of Scotland, that notwithſtanding this right of AVISAMENTUM, which alſo had become

monſtrance, "that being at preſent denied the exerciſe of their legal privilege they are not officially informed reſpecting the candidates for the vacant chair in the Univerſity; but they had learned from report, and from many members of the Town Council individually, that one of thoſe candidates is Mr. John Leſlie, author of "An Experimental Inquiry into the Nature and Propagation of Heat," and they do hereby more particularly remonſtrate and proteſt, in the moſt ſolemn manner, againſt *his* being elected to the ſaid profeſſorſhip, becauſe the ſaid Mr. Leſlie has avouched to the world, and endeavoured to ſupport by argument, an opinion calculated to undermine the foundation of all religion, both natural and revealed. That the miniſters in bringing forward this moſt ſerious charge, refer to a note which Mr. Leſlie has ſubjoined to his foreſaid Inquiry.

"From which words," being part of the note, the miniſters proceed, "it is evident, that Mr. Leſlie having, with Mr. Hume, denied *all ſuch neceſſary connexion between cauſe and effect*, as implies an operating principle in the cauſe, has of courſe laid a foundation for rejecting all the argument that is derived from the works of God, to prove either his being or attributes."

This aſſertion, or allegation of the miniſters, being the great ground work of their battery againſt Mr. Leſlie, is attacked by Mr. Stewart with all the ſubtlety of diſtinction, the force of reaſoning, and the weight of authority. And it is this which forms indeed the greater part of the work in hand, that will draw the attention of ſcholars, and perhaps preſerve this pamphlet in the library of ſome judicious collectors, as a curious monument of the relation between religion and philoſophy in the early part of the 19th century.*

The fallacy of Mr. Hume's doctrine concerning cauſe and effect does not, Mr. Stewart juſtly obſerves, lie in his premiſes, but in the concluſion which he draws from them. There is an uniform connexion between what we call *cauſes* and effects, but no *neceſſary connexion*, no connexion the want or even the contrary of which would involve an abſurdity. What then? becauſe things are not bound together by any cement that we can diſcover, does it follow that they are not cemented, not bound together at all? No, they are held together by the relation, the agency of that ſtupendous and incomprehenſible Being which launched them into exiſtence, and continues them ſtill in all their mutual dependencies, relations, and motions. Thus the dependence of the univerſe on the will, the volition of the Deity is much more ſenſible and cloſe, according to the ſyſtem of Hume, adopted by Leſlie, than according to the *intermedia* philoſophers and the miniſters of Edinburgh. Are the inveſtigations of philoſophers then precluded by this ſyſtem? No: but they ſhould be directed not to *efficient* but to *natural* cauſes—to the order that takes place in the

become obſolete, the miniſters had not any right of interdict or negative on the queſtion.

* The prevailing ſyſtems of philoſophy, whatever they be, influence religious creeds and commentaries, and even ſyſtems of medicine.

ſucceſſion

ſucceſſion of events, reſults, or productions—in ſupport of the ſyſtem which rejects all inviſible *intermedia* as *vibrating æthers*, &c. Mr. Stewart produces the authority of the great father, or reſtorer of ſound philoſophy, Lord Bacon, a whole cohort, as it were, of Engliſh divines, whoſe religious notions were not more orthodox than their philoſophical tenets were ſound, as Dr. Barrow, Dr. Clarke, Dr. Butler, Biſhop of Durham, Dr. Berkeley, Biſhop of Cloyne, Dr. Stephen Hale, Dr. Peter Brown, Biſhop of Cork, Dr. Waring, Lucaſian Profeſſor of Mathematics in the Univerſity of Cambridge, whoſe zeal for the peculiar doctrines of Chriſtianity was not "*inferior to that of any one of Mr. Leſlie's opponents*,"* Malebranche, Dr. Reid, Profeſſor Robinſon in his Mechanical Philoſophy, &c. &c. His own reaſoning did not need, but is certainly moſt powerfully ſeconded by ſuch ſupporters. It is ſomewhere ſaid in the Scripture, that even the wicked are made "to praiſe God," or words to that effect. Even Mr. Hume in the hand of Providence has become the inſtrument of bringing back men from occult qualities, vortices, and inviſible *intermedia*, to a ſenſe of their immediate dependence on the Deity. The doctrine of Mr. Hume, on the queſtion of Cauſe and Effect, is in theology *orthodox*, and that of the miniſters of Edinburgh irrefragably convicted of the moſt abſurd as well as pernicious heterodoxy.

Carr's *Northern Summer.*

(Concluded from p. 59.)

MR. CARR remarks that the Ruſſians are enthuſiaſtically attached to their ſaints and their churches; and notices a ſaying current in Ruſſia not very honourable to the inhabitants of *this* iſland; "that whilſt the Ruſſians build their churches firſt and their towns afterwards, the Engliſh never think of a temple until they have erected their own dwellings." It would be very well if they thought of it even then, but we are concerned to ſay, this is not often the caſe.

The followers of the Greek church, however, it appears, uſe their dead ſaints better than their living prieſts; for whilſt "they would devote their lives" to the former; "they give black bread" to the latter. Confeſſion is in uſe in the Greek church, as the following anecdote will prove. "A prieſt came to hear the confeſſion of a great man. 'Holy father,' ſays the count, 'have you a good memory?' 'Yes.' 'Then you remember what I told you at my laſt confeſſion; ſince that I have had the ſame temptations from without; the ſame weakneſſes from within; and here is the ſame number of rubles." We heartily wiſh that Mr. Carr had quoted his authority for this anec-

* Among thoſe opponents were not a few whoſe zeal for theſe doctrines, on the preſent occaſion, appeared altogether ſurpriſing.

dote, for a Roman Catholic lady, now at our elbow, poſitively declares it cannot be true; as the prieſts never take money for confeſſing their penitents. In vain we urge that the Greek church may differ from the Roman Church in this particular; or that the rubles might be given to the prieſt to be diſtributed for charitable uſes, as alms and oblations are given at the adminiſtration of the ſacrament. She inſiſts it cannot be, and that the ſtory muſt be a fabrication. We call, therefore, upon Mr. Carr to ſupport his own veracity; and upon ſuch of our readers as have any knowledge of the practice of the Greek and Roman Churches on this point, to communicate that knowledge to us.

In matters of *Police* too Mr. Carr draws a compariſon between the Ruſſians and the Engliſh not very favourable to the latter; and as his ſentiments on this ſubject are very ſimilar to our own, we ſhall tranſcribe them.

"It would be well for the ſafety and tranquility of the inhabitants of London, and more particularly of its immediate neighbourhood, if its police were more *extended*, *ſwift*, and *powerful*. In this reſpect we are aſſuredly inferior to moſt nations. I am aware that arbitrary governments have, hitherto, diſplayed the moſt perfect ſyſtems of police; but is this the reaſon why the genius and conſtitution of a *free* one cannot admit of its extending domeſtic protection to its ſubjects? Is civil liberty incompatible with preventive policy? Is the freedom of the country gone, when murderers and robbers ceaſe to be free? Or is it to preſerve our chartered privileges, that a band of ſuperannuated watchmen, who, to protract their becoming an additional burden upon the poor-rate, beyond the ordinary era of eleemoſynary aid, are helmeted in flannel night-caps, and with a *rattle* and a *lanthorn*, admirable equipment for *ſecond childhood*, and *eyes dim with age!* are ſent forth to guard the lives aud property of the inhabitants of the moſt crowded, populous, and wealthy city in the world? To find fault is an eaſy and an odious office. But a traveller, like a bee, ſhould never be upon the wing without bringing home ſome ſweet to encreaſe the honey of his native hive. Neither at night, nor by day, are the ſtreets infeſted by women of the town; they live in a quarter by themſelves, and I believe are not very numerous; ſome of them are Poliſh, of courſe handſome; ſome Germans, of courſe faſcinating; and ſome, and the moſt of them, fair and frail wanderers from the upper parts of Finland, which, although the portion of the province that we ſaw was ſo deſtitute of every thing like beauty, is ſaid to poſſeſs many pretty faces and good perſons amongſt the females. If it be true, as Mr. Juſtice Colquhoun's regiſter aſſerts, that the proſtitutes of London amount to fifty thouſand, I ſhould not ſuppoſe, from all that I could learn, that the frail ſiſterhood of Peterſburg exceeds a tenth of their number. Where theſe unhappy beings abound, it is always a compliment to the chaſtity of the purer part of the ſex. There was ſome portion of ſagacity in the remark made by a poor little knight wanderer, in a city on the continent which ſhall be nameleſs, when a traveller, who pitied and relieved her diſtreſs, obſerved, that he was ſurpriſed to ſee ſo few of the ſiſterhood in ſuch a capital. "Alas, ſir," ſaid the unfortunate, "we cannot live for the virtuous part of our ſex." One morning preſented a very ſingular ſpectacle. A number of well dreſſed women, walking in pairs,

pairs, faſtened by the arm to each other with cords with their band-boxes in their hands, and each couple attended by a police officer, were very quietly and decorouſly marching to the Emperor's cotton mills, which are correctional houſes of induſtry for ladies of this deſcription. There were no repining looks amongſt them, not a pouting lip, ſo great in general is the conſtitutional ſubmiſſion to the law in the north. Upon enquiry, I found that a man had been violently ill-treated in the haunts of theſe Idalian goddeſſes, and that upon the affair being repreſented to the Emperor, he ordered three hundred of them to be marched off for a few months, as above mentioned. How the liſt was filled up, whether by ballot, or promiſcuouſly, I know not.

When we ſaid that Mr. Carr's ſentiments were ſimilar to our own we did not mean to extend our remark beyond his obſervations on police in general, and on the *watchmen* in particular. We are very far indeed from acceding to the juſtice of the very ſtrange notion, that the abundance of proſtitutes is a compliment to the chaſtity of the virtuous; and we think there is much more of flippancy and impertinence than of ſagacity in the ſaying of the "poor little night wanderer."

In the fourteenth chapter there is a detailed account of the circumſtances which preceded and occaſioned the aſſaſſination of the Emperor Paul. It, in moſt reſpects, correſponds to the particulars which we received ourſelves from Ruſſia, and which were briefly noticed in our review at the time. As, however, they tend to throw conſiderable light on that dark tranſaction, and as they preſent the character of Paul in a different point of view from that in which it has hitherto been conſidered, long as it is, we ſhall tranſcribe it for the information of our readers.

"It is with deep regret that I approach the delicate and awful ſubject of this chapter. Humanity would gladly cover it with the pall of oblivion; but juſtice to the memory of an unhappy monarch, and to the chief of the auguſt family of Ruſſia, demand a candid though careful developement of the events which preceded the fall of the laſt Emperor. The original ſource of my information is from one who beheld the cataſtrophe which I am about to relate, whom I can neither name nor doubt; a cataſtrophe which is too near the period in which I write, not to render an unreſtrained diſcloſure of all the particulars with which I have been furniſhed, unfair if not imprudent. The cauſes that firſt created thoſe well known prejudices which Catherine II. cheriſhed againſt her ſon, have periſhed with her; but all the world knows, that, during the many years which rolled away between the Grand Duke's arrival at the age of maturity and his elevation to the throne, his auguſt mother never admitted him to any participation of power, but kept him in a ſtate of the moſt abject and mortifying ſeparation from the court, and in almoſt total ignorance of the affairs of the empire. Although Paul, by his birth, was generaliſſimo of the armies, he never was permitted to head a regiment; and although, by the ſame right, grand Admiral of the Baltic, he was interdicted from even viſiting the fleet at Cronſtadt. To theſe painful privations may be added, that when he was recommended, that is *ordered*, to travel, during his abſence Catherine ſeized and ſent to Siberia one of his moſt cheriſhed friends, becauſe ſhe diſcovered

that he had informed her ſon of ſome inconſiderable ſtate affair. Thus Paul beheld himſelf not only ſevered from the being who gave him birth, but from all the ordinary felicities of life. The preſſure of his hand excited ſuſpicion; peril was in his attachment, and in his confidence guilt and treaſon. He could not have a friend, without furniſhing a victim.

"A gentleman nearly connected with me, now no more, a man of talent and acute obſervation and veracity, had ſeveral years ſince the honour of ſpending a ſhort period at the little ſecluded court of Gatchina, upon which, as the dazzling beams of imperial favour never ſhone, the obſerver was left in the tranquillity of the ſhade, to make a more calm, ſteady, and undiverted ſurvey. At this time, Paul diſplayed a mind very elegantly inclined, and without being brilliant, highly cultivated, accompliſhed and informed, frank and generous, brave and magnanimous, a heart tender and affectionate, and a diſpoſition very ſweet, though moſt acutely and poignantly ſuſceptible: his perſon was not handſome, but his eye was penetrating, and his manners ſuch as denoted the finiſhed gentleman. In his youth he was ſeen by the bed-ſide of the dying Panin, the hoary and able miniſter of Catherine, and his tutor, kiſſing and bathing his hand with tears. As an evidence of his intellectual vigour, let the elaborate and able ukaſe, by which he ſettled the precedence and proviſion of the imperial family, unqueſtionably his own unaſſiſted compoſition, be referred to. He loved his amiable princeſs, and his children, with the moſt ardent, the moſt indulgent fondneſs, and it was the labour of their love, as well as of his ſervants, who were devotedly attached to him, to requite his affections and graciouſneſs, and to endeavour to fill up with every endearing, every ſtudied attention, the gloomy chaſm which had been formed by an unnatural and inexplicable neglect; but this chaſm was a bottomleſs abyſs, upon the brink of which his wounded ſpirit was ever wandering! Paul poſſeſſed a high martial inclination, and, reflecting that he might one day mount the throne of a military empire, he made the art of war the principal object of his ſtudies; but neither this purſuit, ſo copious, ſo intereſting, nor the endearments of thoſe who ſurrounded him, could expel from his mind the ſenſe of his injuries. He beheld himſelf, the ſecond perſonage and the deſtined ruler of the empire, poſtponed to the periodical favourite of his mother, the miniſter of her unbounded voluptuouſneſs, not unfrequently elevated to the preſidency of the Hermitage from the ranks, with no other pretenſions than vigorous health and a mighty frame; whilſt, on the other hand, the bleeding ſhade of his father was for ever, in his morbid imagination, pointing to his wound, and whiſpering revenge. Thus exhiled from the heart of his mother, is it a matter of ſurpriſe that he ſhould exclude her from his own?

"Catherine more than once obſerved, that her ſon would not long occupy the throne after her deceaſe; and it has been the faſhion to ſay, that her alienation from him was juſtified by the events which ſucceeded her death. With this prophetic ſpirit, ſhe devoted all her care to the education of her grandſons, Alexander and Conſtantine, and exerciſed all the powers ſhe poſſeſſed towards the conſummation of her prediction. She foretold that the flower which ſhe had planted would wither early: ſhe ſhook it till every bloſſom fell, and ſhaded it ſo, that the dew of Heaven ſhould never viſit it more: ſhe preſſed and pierced the delicate and ardent mind of her ſon until ſhe ſubverted it. Was it then a proof of inſpiration, to prognoſticate the brevity of his reign over an empire, the hiſtory of which

which has too often and fatally proved, that however deſpotic its government, and there is not one under heaven more abſolute, a cautious and dexterous cultivation of the intereſt, feelings, prejudices, and affections of the people, is inſeparable from the ſafety of the ruler?

"A ſhort time before her demiſe, Catherine committed to P——Z——, her laſt favourite, whom ſhe highly eſteemed, a declaration of her will, addreſſed to the ſenate, purporting that Paul ſhould be paſſed over in the ſucceſſion, and that the Grand Duke Alexander ſhould mount the vacant throne. As ſoon as the favourite was acquainted with the ſudden death of the Empreſs, he flew to Pavlovſk, about thirty-five verſts from the capital, where Paul occaſionally reſided, whom he met on the road; and, after a ſhort explanation, delivered up to him this important document. Paul, charmed with his zeal and loyalty, preſerved him in all his honours and fortunes, whilſt a general and rapid diſperſion, to all points of the compaſs, inſtantaneouſly ſucceeded amongſt the members of the *male ſeraglio* of the Hermitage. The Emperor aſcended the throne without difficulty, but a total ſtranger to his ſubjects. One of the firſt meaſures of his reign diſplayed, in a very ſingular manner, the native goodneſs of his heart, under the clouds that rapidly began to overſhadow it, in an act of piety towards his murdered father, whoſe remains he removed from the church of St. Alexander Nevſki, called the monaſtery; and having exhibited them in great funeral ſtate, he conſigned them to the ſepulchre of Catherine II., in the cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul. The latter part of this extraordinary tranſaction has often induced me to think that Paul did not believe that his mother iſſued the order for the aſſaſſination of his father. At this eccentric ſolemnity, he compelled Count Alexey Orloff, and Prince Baratynſki, under whoſe hands the unhappy monarch is ſaid to have periſhed, to ſtand on each ſide of the body as it lay in ſtate, and afterwards to follow it to the tomb as the principal mourners.

"Not long after this event, his mind began occaſionally to diſplay the moſt fearful ſymptoms of diſtraction; but when his reaſon was reſtored, the hapleſs Emperor never failed to endeavour, with the moſt affecting ſenſibility, to repair the ruin and havoc which his derilium had occaſioned. The depoſed Stanislaus, the broken-hearted King of Poland, partook alternately of his beneficence and ſeverity; but with what demonſtration of reſpect and genuine grief did the Emperor attend the obſequies of this laſt of the Sarmates? On that gloomy occaſion, he commanded in perſon the guards who aſſiſted at the funeral; and uncovering himſelf, with the moſt affecting emotions, ſaluted the coffin as it paſſed. To the memory of the hoary and heroic Suvaroff, who fell a broken-hearted victim to the diſtraction of his Imperial maſter, in periods of agonized and compunctious reflection, he raiſed a coloſſal ſtatue of bronze, in the vaſt area behind Benſkoi's palace, oppoſite to Romantzoff's monument; and, on the days when he reviewed his troops there, he uſed to order them to march by in open order, and face the ſtatue, which he ſaid repreſented one of the greateſt and braveſt generals of his own or any other age.

"Notwithſtanding the important ſervice which P——Z—— had rendered him, the Emperor could never ſeparate him, in his mind's eye, from the careſſes of his mother, and ſpeedily became diſguſted with him; ſpoke of him with great aſperity to his friends, and at length, converting the bounty of Catherine into a robbery, he denounced him as a defaulter to the Imperial treaſury of half a million of rubles; and, convinced of the

juſtice of the allegation, proceeded, without loſs of time to ſequeſter the vaſt eſtates which belonged to him and to his two brothers. Driven to deſperation by ſuch conduct, one of the ſufferers, the ſecond brother, one day boldly walked up to the Emperor upon the parade, and, with manly eloqueuce, repreſented the injuſtice of his meaſures. Paul received him without anger, heard him without interruption, reflected, and reſtored the property: but the original diſguſt rapidly returning, he ordered P—— Z——to reſide upon his eſtate, to which he ſubmitted for a conſiderable time. But the mind of the exile was too ardent to endure ſeclusion; ambitious, bold, active, and enterprizing, he determined upon releaſing himſelf from the unjuſt conſtraint impoſed upon him by his ſovereign, the delirium of whoſe mind now frequently burſt forth with all the fury and deſolation of a convulſed volcano. Meſſrs. Otto, Sieyes, Talleyrand, who at that time formed a diplomatic trio, or rather were ſpies, at the court of Peterſburg, with the dexterity of talent, and the ſubtility of Frenchmen, reſolved to turn the gathering ſtorm to the advantage of their own country, by means which, extending beyond their calculation and their wiſhes, finally and rapidly led to the overthrow of the Emperor. Under their tuition, a French actreſs was introduced on the boards of the French theatre at Peterſburgh, and placed in ſuch ſituations of allurement, that the eye of the Emperor could not but notice her. The ruin of domeſtic happineſs furniſhed theſe politicians with the means of their ſucceſs. A French actreſs was deſtined to eſtrange the Emperor from his family, and to create a temporary and terrible change in the affairs of Europe. Madam Chevalier poſſeſſed that ſtyle of face which, without being regularly handſome was more ſweet, expreſſive, and captivating, than the exact ſymmetry of a finiſhed beauty. Her perſon was ſmall, but delicate, and rather *en bon point*: her manners were of the higheſt order, and enchanted every one who approached her. The Emperor was fond of muſic: Madame Chevalier excelled upon the harp, and ſung to it ſome ſweet and crafty verſes, compoſed by one of her three employers, and which ſhe herſelf had ſet to muſic; the ſubject of which was, the martial ſkill, valour, and generoſity, of the Emperor. She had not ſpread her wicheries long, before an evening was appointed for a private gratification of the muſical taſte and paſſion of the Emperor. This Syren very ſoon became the ſole idol of his flattered mind, which ſhe moved according to the direction of her ſecret principals, until the Emperor withdrew himſelf from his alliance with Auſtria, recalled Suvaroff and his army covered with glory, crowded the roads to Siberia with Britiſh ſubjects, and filled with terror and conſternation the Exchange of the Britiſh empire. I mean not to enumerate all the calamities which followed: they were too ſignal not to be widely known, too recent not to be well remembered; and, from their very nature, inconteſtably proved the abberration of thoſe faculties which could alone, by their preſence, render the Emperor reſponſible for all the miſery, diſmay, and ruin, which threatened the very exiſtenc of the empire. P——Z——reſolved upon availing himſelf of the influence of the fair favourite, to whom he addreſſed himſelf with all the inſinuation of perſon, manners, wit, and money: having engaged her in his favour, he made her acquainted with Count K——, a man who, from having been about the perſon of Paul in the menial capacity of a valet, at laſt obtained a high place in his affection, diſtinguiſhed honour, and great wealth. The more firmly to bind K——to his intereſt, P——Z——feigned an honourable paſſion for the daughter of the former,

former, who was, like all the ſudden favourites of fortune, much pleaſed at the proſpect of an alliance with a very diſtinguiſhed family. Count K—, and Madame Chevalier, conceived many plans for prevailing upon his Majeſty to reſtore Z——to his favour. At length, one evening when ſhe had tranquillized the mind of the Emperor, and excited in him an appearance of gaiety by the vivacity of her wit, and ſome of her moſt ſucceſsful ſongs, ſhe artfully inſinuated that P——Z——was the moſt unhappy man alive in being deprived of the Emperor's favour, and of the power of promoting the intereſt of one of the greateſts geniuſes that ever mounted the Czarian throne, to whom he was moſt inviolably attached. The Emperor pauſed, and expreſſed ſome doubt of the truth of the ſtatement; but upon her reaſſuring him of its ſincerity, accompanied by ſome of thoſe little blandiſhments which no woman ever knew how to diſplay with more finiſhed addreſs than Madame Chevalier, Paul granted her petition, and recalled Z——to the reſidence, where he flew with the celerity of a courier, and threw himſelf at the feet of the Emperor, by whom he was gratiouſly received, and from whoſe preſence he with drew to preſent his fair advocate with the ſtipulated reward, a magnificent aigrette of diamonds, valued at ſixty thouſand rubles. Whatever private pique Z——might have cheriſhed againſt his imperial maſter, I believe that it was wholly loſt in his review of the deteriorated and dreadful condition of the Empire, and in thoſe awful meaſures of reſtoration which were afterwards reſorted to. Z——gradually and warily unfolded his mind to K——, who as cautiouſly entered into his views, until their confidence was completely eſtabliſhed. The reſult of their deliberations was, that, to ſave the empire, it was neceſſary that the Emperor ſhould be removed. They next prevailed upon Count P———, the governor of the city, and Count P———, a very young nobleman, but of conſiderable family intereſt, the ſon of the celebrated general, Count P——P——who ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the Turkiſh war, and alſo the Prince Y——, and ſome other perſons of great rank and conſequence. All of theſe noblemen were actuated by no other motive, than to prevent the final ruin of their country, and for this purpoſe they determined to place in peril their lives and their fortunes.

"In their conferences, which were managed with admirable diſcretion, it was reſolved that Paul ſhould die; and, like Cæſar, it was deſtined that he ſhould periſh in the ides of March, on the day of the feſtival called Maſlaintza.

"I think I hear the voice of humanity exclaim, "Why not proviſionally remove the unhappy Monarch from the throne?" Alas! The conſtitution of Ruſſia poſſeſſes none of thoſe mild and beneficent proviſions, which endear our own conſtitution to us a thouſand and a thouſand times. When the ruler is once mounted on the throne, an abyſs opens below, and the deſcent from the laſt ſtep is into eternity. I am endeavouring to illuſtrate motives, not juſtify them; the record is before another tribunal! It is ſcarcely neceſſary for me to obſerve, that the auguſt family of Paul were wholly unacquainted with the meditated blow.

"The Emperor, from an averſion he had taken to thoſe palaces, which formed the favourite reſidence of Catherine, reſolved upon building a palace for himſelf. The gorgeous magnificence of Zarſko Zelo, and of the winter palace, and all the Oriental voluptuouſneſs of the Hermitage, were hateful to him; indeed, to ſuch an elevation had his abhorrence of theſe

places attained, that he had determined to reduce them to the duſt, that only

"——The blackneſs of aſhes ſhould mark were they ſtood."

" His fate, which was faſt approaching, prevented the accompliſhment of this irretrievable act of derilium. The Emperor and his family reſided, at the time when the confederacy had reſolved upon his removal, in the new palace of St. Michael. It is an enormous quadrangular pile, of red Dutch brick, riſing from a maſſy baſement of hewn granite; it ſtands at the bottom of the Summer Gardens, and the loſty ſpire of its Greek chapel, richly covered with ducat gold, riſing above the trees, has a beautiful appearance.

" As Paul was anxious to inhabit this palace as ſoon after he was crowned as poſſible, the maſons, the carpenters, and various artificers, toiled with incredible labour by day and by torch-light, under the ſultry ſun of the ſummer, and in all the ſeverity of a polar winter, and in three years this enormous and magnificent fabric was completed. The whole is moated round, and when the ſtranger ſurveys its baſtions of granite, and numerous draw-bridges, he is naturally led to conclude, that it was intended for the laſt aſylum of a Prince at war with his ſubjects. Thoſe who have ſeen its maſſy walls, and the capaciouſneſs and variety of its chambers, will eaſily admit that an act of violence might be committed in one room, and not be heard by thoſe who occupy the adjoining one; and that a maſſacre might be perpetrated at one end, and not known at the other. Paul took poſſeſſion of this palace as a place of ſtrength, and beheld it with rapture, becauſe his Imperial mother had never even ſeen it. Whilſt his family were here, by every act of tenderneſs endeavouring to ſoothe the terrible perturbation of his mind, there were not wanting thoſe who exerted every ſtratagem to inflame and encreaſe it. Theſe people were conſtantly inſinuating, that every hand was armed againſt him. With this impreſſion, which added fuel to his burning brain, he ordered a ſecret ſtair-caſe to be conſtructed, which, leading from his own chamber, paſſed under a falſe ſtove in the anti-room, and led by a ſmall door to the terrace.

" It was the cuſtom of the Emperor to ſleep in an outer apartment next to the Empreſſe's upon a ſopha, in his regimentals and boots, whilſt the Grand Duke and Ducheſs, and the reſt of the Imperial family, were lodged at various diſtances, in apartments below the ſtory which he occupied. On the tenth day of March, O. S. 1801, the day preceeding the fatal night, whether Paul's apprehenſion, or anonymous information, ſuggeſted the idea, is not known, but conceiving that a ſtorm was ready to burſt upon him, he ſent to count P——, the governor of the city, one of the noblemen who had reſolved on his deſtruction: " I am informed, P——," ſaid the Emperor, " that there is a conſpiracy on foot againſt me; do you think it neceſſary to take any precaution?" The Count, without betraying the leaſt emotion, replied, " Sire, do not ſuffer ſuch apprehenſions to haunt your mind; if there were any combinations forming againſt your Majeſty's perſon, I am ſure I ſhould be acquainted with it." " Then I am ſatisfied," ſaid the Emperor, and the governor withdrew. Before Paul retired to reſt, he unexpectedly expreſſed the moſt tender ſolicitude for the Empreſs and his children, kiſſed them with all the warmth of farewell fondneſs, and remained with them longer than uſual; and after he had viſited the centi-

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nels at their different posts, he retired to his chamber, where he had not long remained, before, under some colourable pretext, that satisfied the men, the guard was changed by the officers who had the command for the night, and were engaged in the confederacy. An hussar, whom the Emperor had particularly honoured by his notice and attention, always at night slept at his bed room-door, in the anti-room. It was impossible to remove this faithful soldier by any fair means. At this momentous period, silence reigned throughout the palace, except were it was disturbed by the pacing of the centinels, or at a distance by the murmurs of the Neva, and only a few lights were to be seen distantly and irregularly gleaming through the windows of this dark colossal abode. In the dead of the night, Z——and his friends, amounting to eight or nine persons, passed the draw-bridge, easily ascended the stair-case which led to Paul's chamber, and met with no resistance till they reached the anti-room, when the faithful hussar, awakened by the noise, challenged them, and presented his fusee: much as they must have all admired the brave fidelity of the guard, neither time nor circumstances would admit of an act of generosity, which might have endangered the whole plan. Z——drew his sabre and cut the poor fellow down. Paul, awakened by the noise, sprung from his sopha: at this moment the whole party rushed into his room; the unhappy Sovereign, anticipating their design, at first endeavoured to entrench himself in the chairs and tables, then recovering, he assumed a high tone, told them they were his prisoners, and called upon them to surrender. Finding that they fixed their eyes steadily and fiercely upon him, and continued advancing towards him, he implored them to spare his life, declared his consent instantly to relinquish the sceptre, and to accept of any terms which they would dictate. In his raving, he offered to make them princes, and to give them estates, and titles, and orders, without end. They now began to press upon him, when he made a convulsive effort to reach the window: in the attempt he failed, and indeed so high was it from the ground, that had he succeeded, the expedient would have only put a more instantaneous period to his misery. In the effort he very severely cut his hand with the glass; and as they drew him back he grasped a chair, with which he felled one of the assailants, and a desperate resistance took place. So great was the noise, that not withstanding the massy walls, and thick double folding-doors, which divided the apartments, the Empress was disturbed, and began to cry for help, when a voice whispered in her ear, and imperatively told her to remain quiet, otherwise, if she uttered another word, she should be put to instant death. Whilst the Emperor was thus making a last struggle the Prince Y——struck him on one of his temples with his fist, and laid him upon the floor; Paul recovering from the blow, again implored his life; at this moment the heart of P——Z——relented, and upon being observed to tremble and hesitate, a young Hanoverian resolutely exclaimed, "We have passed the Rubicon: if we spare his life, before the setting of to-morrow's sun, we shall be his victims!" Upon which he took off his sash, turned it twice round the naked neck of the Emperor, and giving one end to Z——, and holding the other himself, they pulled for a considerable time with all their force, until their miserable sovereign was no more; they then retired from the palace without the least molestation, and returned to their respective homes. What occurred after their departure can be better conceived than depicted: medical aid was resorted to, but in vain, and upon the breathless body of the Emperor fell the tears of his widowed Empress

and

and children, and domeſtics; nor was genuine grief ever more forcibly or feelingly diſplayed than by him on whoſe brow this melancholy event had planted the crown. So paſſed away this night of horror, and thus periſhed a Prince, to whom nature was *severely* bountiful. The acuteneſs and pungency of his feeling was incompatible with happineſs: unnatural prejudice preſſed upon the fibre, too finely ſpun, and ſnapped it.

'Tis not as heads that never ache ſuppoſe,
Forgery of fancy, and a dream of woes;
Man is a harp, whoſe chords elude the ſight,
Each yielding harmony, diſpoſ'd aright;
The ſcrews revers'd (a taſk which if he pleaſe
God in a moment executes with eaſe),
Ten thouſand thouſand ſtrings at once go looſe,
Loſt, till he tune them, all their power and uſe.'

COWPER.

The ſun ſhone upon a new order of things. At ſeven o'clock the intelligence of the demiſe of Paul ſpread through the capital. The interval of time from its firſt communication to its diffuſion over every part of Peterſburg, was ſcarcely perceptible. At the parade Alexander preſented himſelf on horſeback, when the troops with tears rolling down their rugged and ſun browned faces, hailed him with loud and cordial acclamation. The young Emperor was overwhelmed, and at the moment of mounting the throne of the moſt extenſive empire under heaven, he was ſeen to turn from the grand and affecting ſpectacle, and weep.

"What followed is of very ſubordinate conſideration; but perhaps it will be eagerly aſked, to what extremity did the avenging arm of juſtice purſue the perpetrators of the deed? Mercy, the brighteſt jewel of every crown, and a forlorn and melancholy conviction, that the reigning motive was the ſalvation of the empire, prevented her from being vindictive. Never upon the threatre of life was there preſented a ſcene of more affecting magnanimity; decency, not revenge, governed the ſacrifice. P—— Z——was ordered not to approach the imperial reſidence, and the governor of the city was transferred to Riga. As ſoon as Madame Chevalier was informed of the demiſe of her imperial patron, ſhe prepared, under the protection of her brother, a dancer, for flight, with a booty of nearly a million of rubles. A police officer was ſent to inſpect and report upon her property: amongſt a pile of valuable articles, he diſcovered a diamond croſs of no great intrinſic value, which had been given by Peter I. to a branch of the Imperial Family, and on that account much eſteemed; it was to recover this that the officer was ſent, who obtained it, after the moſt indecent and unprincipled reſiſtance on her part. Paſſports were then granted to Madame Chevalier and her brother. Thus terminated this extraordinary and impreſſive tragedy."

At the beginning of the next chapter Mr. Carr pays a tribute of juſtice to that gallant officer and accompliſhed gentleman, Sir John Borlaſe Warren; and ſpeaks of the noble family of the Polignacs, whom he met at Sir John's hotel, with a feeling that does him honor; and of the Corſican Uſurper with that becoming indignation which convinces us, that he has ſubdued thoſe falſe impreſſions which he had

had received reſpecting that ſanguinary tyrant, during his reſidence in his capital, which we had occaſion to reprobate in our review of his "Stranger in France."

"It was impoſſible for an Engliſhman to viſit Peterſburgh when I did, without feeling a juſtifiable national pride in finding his country repreſented by one of her moſt diſtinguiſhed naval heroes, who, to the frankneſs and ſincerity ſo peculiar to that character, unites the graceful attractions of the moſt courteous and poliſhed manners. From the intrepid miniſter, and his elegant and enlightened lady, I experienced that urbanity and attention, which eminently diſtinguiſhed their conduct, and endeared them to the Ruſſian court, and to their countrymen. The Emperor, in his private circles, has often extolled the nautical ſkill and undaunted valour of Sir John Borlaſe Warren, and honoured him with his friendſhip. In no period of thoſe political ſtorms which have ſo long ſhaken, and ſtill continue to convulſe, the continent of Europe, has the cabinet of Ruſſia manifeſted a more propitious and cordial diſpoſition to the cauſe and intereſts of Great Britain, than during the diplomacy of the gallant admiral.

"The houſe of embaſſy, a noble manſion, in the Engliſh line was fitted up with great taſte, and the hoſpitality which prevailed in it was truly *Ruſſian.* The parties which aſſembled there were very ſelect and agreeable. Amongſt the moſt frequent viſitors I met the Duc de Polignac and ſeveral of the members of that illuſtrious houſe, who, from the higheſt rank, and an influence equal to that of their ſovereign, have been caſt into the regions of the north, by the terrible tornado of the French revolution, where, in the ſenſibility and munificence of the Emperor, they have found protection.

"The noble fortitude of the Polignacs, and particularly the heroic and affecting eloquence of one of the brothers before the tribunal of Bonaparte, created at this period a ſtrong ſenſation in the public mind, and in no part of the world more forcibly than at Peterſburgh. In another age, when paſſion and prejudice ſhall repoſe in "the tomb of all the Capulets," the calm inveſtigating hiſtorian may perhaps, but in better language, deſcribe their crime, as I have ever conſidered it, a conſpiracy of Bonaparte againſt himſelf, to enable him to aſſume the imperial purple."

While our traveller remained at Peterſburgh, he was ſo fortunate as to be introduced to the juſtly celebrated Doctor Guthrie, a man of great learning, extenſive information, and varied accompliſhments, who is equally loved and reſpected by all who have the honour of his friendſhip.

"It was with great pleaſure that I availed myſelf of an introduction to the venerable Doctor Guthrie, phyſician to the Noble Land Cadet corps, a gentleman of the moſt amiable manners, a philoſopher, and well known to the world for his various ſcientific and literary productions, and particularly for being the editor, as he has modeſtly announced himſelf, of the letters of his deceaſed lady from the Crimea, whither ſhe went, but in vain, in ſearch of health. It is very generally believed, that the Doctor very largely contributed to this able and beautiful work, which, from fondneſs to the memory of the departed, he is anxious ſhould be conſidered as her own.

"I found the Doctor protected, by his philoſophical knowledge, from one of the moſt ſultry days I ever experienced. He was in a little ſtudy built

built of wood, raiſed upon piles in a little meadow. Inſtead of his ſummer windows being open to admit the air, they were all cloſed and faſtened without; his ſervant occaſionally moiſtened the branches of the trees, that were ſuſpended over the building, with water from a garden-engine; and to prevent, as much as poſſible, the admiſſion of the flies, the entrance was through an outer door, and an inner one of gauze, and in the centre of the room ſtood a tub filled with ice; by theſe means the Doctor, whilſt every other perſon was languiſhing and panting with heat, enjoyed a cool and delightful atmoſphere. His collection of Siberian minerals, gems, and precious ſtones (amongſt which is a beautiful ribbond agate) from various parts of the Ruſſian empire, and a variety of marine fowls from the Ruſſian archipelago, are very curious and intereſting. I here ſaw a fine ſpecimen of the encouſtic, or wax-painting, the art of which was diſcovered a few years ſince in Herculaneum, by a ſoldier accidentally holding a flambeau to an apparantly naked wall, when the action of the heat created, to his aſtoniſhment, a beautiful landſcape, by reviving the encouſtic colour in which it had been painted. The Doctor alſo obligingly ſhewed me an opera which was compoſed by the late Empreſs, in which; with great poetical ſpirit and genuis, ſhe has deſcribed the founding of Moſcow and the habits and cuſtoms of the Ruſſians. The words of many of the ſongs were adapted to old Ruſs tunes, and others were ſet to muſic by Sarti. Of this Imperial production only four copies were ever printed; as ſoon as they were ſtruck off, the preſs, the types of which were made at Paris, was broken. Independent of his merited reputation, the Doctor has two other reaſons ſufficient to make any philoſopher proud and happy: he is the father of two lovely daughters; the eldeſt is lady Gaſcoigne, who, to the charms of youth and beauty, unites the moſt elegant accompliſhments and captivating manners. So high was report in her favour, and ſo little can ſhe be known with impunity, that I felt a ſullen ſatisfaction in learning that ſhe was upon a viſit to her friends in Scotland whilſt I was at Peterſburgh; the other daughter is a lovely girl, purſuing her ſtudies in the Convent des Demoiſelles.

"On account of his long and faithful ſervices, the Doctor was ennobled by Paul, who always retained a great partiality for him, even during the temporary diſguſt which he felt againſt his countrymen: he is honoured with a hat and feathers, and the rank of a general. It is ſcarcely neceſſary for me to obſerve that, in a military government like Ruſſia, military rank precedes every other."

The account of a memorable fête given by the diſtinguiſhed favourite of the Empreſs Catherine to that Princeſs, at the Taurida Palace, which he had received as one of the magnificent proofs of her Imperial bounty, is at once ſo characteriſtic of the ſpirit of Prince Potemkin, and ſo curious in itſelf that we cannot forbear to extract it.

"Soon after Prince Potemkin's return from the conqueſt of Crim Tartary, under the influence of a gloomy prepoſeſſion that it would be the laſt time that he ſhould have it in his power to pay due honour to his imperial benefactreſs, he reſolved upon giving a banquet, which, in modern Europe and Aſia, ſhould have no parallel. What the expences attending it amounted to, were never known, but they muſt have been prodigious. For

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ſeveral months previous to the gala, the moſt diſtinguiſhed artiſts were invited from diſtant countries to aſſiſt in its completion. The grand outline was deſigned by the Prince, and ſo various as well as vaſt were the parts, that not one of the aſſiſtants could form any previous idea of the whole of it. In the general buſtle of preparation, the following anecdote, that proves the natural taſte of Potemkin's mind, is related: He had ordered a ſtatue of Catherine to be formed of alabaſter, which he intended ſhould be raiſed upon a pedeſtal, in a temple of precious ſtones, in the winter-garden; for the motto upon its entablature he wrote: "To the Mother of my Country; and to me the moſt gracious." In his deſign, the artiſt had extended the hand and elevated the ſceptre, in the formal ſtyle of our Queen Anne's appearance in wax-work; the critical eye of this Prince, although he has been termed, and in ſome inſtances juſtly, a ſplendid barbarian, in a moment perceived the deficiency of grace in the attitude, and ordered the ſceptre to be inclined: the artiſt retired to another room in chagrin, and exclaimed, "This great ſavage has more taſte than I have, who have been brought up in the lap of the Arts." Upon giving another direction, the artiſt ſtared, and remonſtrated upon the enormous ſum which it would coſt: "What! Sir," ſaid Potemkin, "do you affect to know the depth of my treaſury? Be aſſured it ſtands in no need of your ſenſibility." After which his orders were obeyed without any reference to expenditure.

"Nothing could exceed the public ſenſation which this fete excited. At length the evening arrived when the Prince was to appear in all his pomp and glory, before his fond and adored ſovereign. The walls of theſe ſplendid apartments were moſt richly and beautifully illuminated, and decorated with various exquiſite tranſparencies; and the ſtairs, hall, avenues, and ſides of the rooms were lined with officers of ſtate, attached to the houſehold of the Prince, and ſervants, in the moſt coſtly dreſſes, and magnificent liveries. The orcheſtra exceeded ſix hundred vocal and inſtrumental muſicians, and announced the entrance of the Empreſs and her court, richly attired, by a grand overture and chorus, which reverberated through the colonnades and ſalloons. Potemkin conducted his Imperial viſitor to an elevated chair glittering with gold and diamonds: midway between the columns were boxes gilt with pale gold, and lined with green ſilk, filled with ſpectators in gala dreſſes. The feſtivity commenced with a dance of youths of both ſexes, habited in white, and covered with pearls and jewels, at the head of whom were the preſent Emperor and the grand duke Conſtantine his brother. After the dance, and the moſt coſtly refreſhments, the party repaired to the threatre, at the other end of the palace, where an occaſional piece, compoſed in honour of the Empreſs, was performed, in which all the powers of ſinging, acting, dancing, dreſs, ſcenery, and decorations, were diſplayed. Upon the concluſion of the drama, the audience roſe, and as if impelled by magic, the benches, touched by ſprings, moved and formed into tables and little ſeats, which were almoſt inſtantaneouſly covered with the richeſt viands, ſerved up in gold and ſilver. The curtain again roſe, and diſcovered a hall of mirrors, from which deſcended globular luſtres of cryſtal, and a table appeared covered with the rarity of almoſt every region, ſplendidly ſerved in gold; and at the head, upon a throne gilded and glittering with precious ſtones, ſat the Empreſs ſurrounded by her court, the moſt brilliant in Europe. Such were the arrangements in this place, that every one could ſee and be ſeen. In the coloſſal hall were ſpread tables filled with delicacies and the moſt coſtly wines, and at the

head

head of it was a prodigious maſſy ciſtern of ſolid ſilver, containing ſcarlet ſoup, which is ſaid alone to have coſt ten thouſand rubles. During this ſplendid repaſt, in every room the ſofteſt muſic was heard, which rather enlivened than reſtrained the current of converſation. Univerſal decorum and hilarity prevailed; every wiſh was anticipated, every ſenſe was gratified.

"The banquet was followed by a ſucceſſion of magnificent exhibitions, and the Empreſs did not retire till midnight. As ſhe proceeded to her carriage, it was obſerved that ſhe appeared much affected by the homage which had been paid to her, encreaſed, perhaps, by the tender remembrance of departed hours; and as ſhe turned to bid the Prince adieu, ſhe could ſcarcely ſupport herſelf: at this touching moment, Potemkin fell upon his knees, and covered her hand with his tears and kiſſes: it was deſtined that he ſhould never more behold her under that roof, and his mind ſeemed to be fully poſſeſſed of the idea. A ſhort time afterwards, as he was proceeding from Yaſſy to Nicolaief, he was ſeized with a violent cholic, which it is ſuppoſed was produced by his ſingular irregularities; he alighted from his travelling carriage, ſupported by his nieces, with difficulty reached a bank on the ſide of the road, and expired in their arms. His remains were interred with magnificent honours, at Cherſon, on the banks of the Dnieper, and a ſplendid mauſoleum was raiſed to his memory by the order of her czarian majeſty.

"The diſlike which Paul ever bore towards Potemkin, principally on account of his being the favourite of his imperial mother, induced the Emperor, during the dreadful ſubverſion of his mind, to order the body of the Prince to be raiſed and expoſed, and the mauſoleum deſtroyed. A lady whom I met, and who was obliged, during this fearful period, to take refuge in the Crimea, beheld the ruins of the tomb, and the remains of the Prince expoſed to the birds of the air.

"To what trifles do many perſons owe their elevation: Potemkin was indebted for his honours and fortunes to a *feather*. In the revolution which gave the late Empreſs ſole poſſeſſion of the throne, ſhe appeared at the head of the Iſmail of guards, when Potemkin, a young officer in the cavalry, perceiving that ſhe had no feather in her hat, as ſhe appeared on that momentous occaſion *en militaire*, rode up to her and preſented his. This extraordinary man experienced, in early life, a diſappointment of the heart, which ſo frequently forces the mind out of its proper ſphere, and unſettles it for ever. Potemkin ruſhed into the field of battle, and in ſearch of death obtained glory. The cruel fair one ſtill rejected him, notwithſtanding his ſcars and honours, became violently ſmitten with an ugly old man, whom ſhe married, and hated for ever after."

There are many other curious particulars related of this extraordinary man, which our limits forbid us to tranſcribe. Indeed we have already ſo far exceeded our uſual bounds in the copiouſneſs of our remarks, and the multiplicity of our extracts from this entertaining work, that we muſt bring our account of it to a cloſe. But we cannot conclude without tranſcribing one other ſhort paſſage, exhibiting a new mode of checking the circulation of revolutionary principles.

"Catherine put down a ſect ſtill more formidable, and by the following whimſically wiſe manner, ſaved her people from the baneful contagion of French

French principles. During that revolution, which portended ruin to all the ſacred eſtabliſhments of all nations, when in England Pitt trampled out the brightening embers, and ſaved his country from the devouring flames, a group of miſchievous emiſſaries from France arrived at Peterſburgh, and began, in whiſpers amongſt the mob, to perſuade the poor droſhka driver, and the ambulatory vender of honey quaſs, that thrones were only to be conſidered as ſtools, and that they had as much right to ſit upon one of them as their Empreſs: Catherine, concealing her real apprehenſions, availed herſelf of the powers with which ſhe was clothed, without ſhedding a drop of blood. She knew ridicule to be, in able hands, a powerful weapon, and reſolved to wield it upon the preſent occaſion. One evening the police officers were ordered to ſeize all theſe illuminated apoſtles of liberty, and bear them away to the lunatic aſylum, where the Empreſs had directed that their heads ſhould be ſhaved and bliſtered, and their bodies well ſcoured by aperient medicines, and kept on meagre diet; this regimen was continued for fourteen days, when their confinement terminated. The common Ruſſians had heard of their fate, and really believing that they had been inſane, neglected and deſerted them upon their re-appearance in the city with ſhorn heads, hollow eyes, and ſunk cheeks, and all the ſtriking indications of a recently bewildered mind. If this mild and ingenious project had failed, Catherine would have let looſe all the energy of power, and for this purpoſe ſhe rapidly cauſed to be built that vaſt edifice, now uſed for the marine barracks, which ſhe deſtined for a ſtate priſon."

We had noticed ſome defects in this volume, with the intention of particulariſing them; but we ſhall content ourſelves with ſuggeſting to the author the neceſſity of impoſing ſome reſtraint on the brilliancy of his imagination, as frequently diſplayed in an affected and a bombaſtic ſtyle, equally remote from dignified eloquence and from claſſical purity. The very title of his book exhibits a ſpecimen of this defect. We had alſo remarked ſome inconſiſtency in his notions of *ſlavery*; for while he expatiates on the *evils* of ſlavery, he repreſents the Ruſſian ſlaves, in many inſtances, as enjoying all the comforts, and even all the luxuries of life, thus affording a very ſatisfactory confutation of his own argument. But we have loſt our reference to this paſſage, and to another in which he ſtates the number of proſtitutes at Paris to be leſs than that of the ſame deſcription of women in London; a ſtatement notoriouſly contrary to fact. It is ſufficient, however, to notice theſe points to induce the author to reconſider them; and his work is ſo intereſting as to be well worth the trouble of correction; for which we doubt not, an opportunity will ſoon be afforded him, by a call for a new edition.

A Voyage round the World, in the Years 1800, 1801, 1802, *and* 1804; *in which the Author viſited the principal Iſlands in the Pacific Ocean, and the Engliſh Settlements of Port Jackſon and Norfolk Iſland.* By John Turnbull. In three Vols. 12mo. Pp. 740. Philips. 1805.

THE ſpirit of navigation and diſcovery which burſt forth in Europe at the concluſion of the fifteenth century, and which ſhone forth with ſo much luſtre and ſucceſs, in our own country, in the glorious

glorious reign of Queen Elizabeth, has been happily revived in the reign of his preſent Majeſty, with increaſing ſplendour. Diſcoveries have been made of new countries in the great Pacific Ocean, where the eaſe, and, we may ſay, the pleaſure attending colonization, form a ſtriking contraſt with the difficulties and the dangers, the privations and ſufferings, of various kinds, with which our forefathers had to ſtruggle, in Virginia and New England. By theſe recent diſcoveries a variety of new and moſt intereſting objects is preſented to various deſcriptions of men: to the mercantile adventurer, new ſources of commerce; to thoſe who pant after the poſſeſſion of independence, a ſoil that courts the hand of induſtry, and ever pours its bounty ſpontaneouſly; and to the philoſopher, ſubjects of ſpeculation which add to the ſtores of ſcience phyſical and moral. The map of human nature has been unfolded more and more. The ſtate of ſociety among the *Aborigines* of America could not have appeared more ſingular and ſurpriſing to their firſt viſitors from Europe, three hundred years ago, than that of the inhabitants of New Holland, and the numerous iſles in the South Seas, to the enlightened philoſophers of the nineteenth century. Though many voyages to theſe parts have been publiſhed, the field of obſervation is ſo vaſt and various, that new accounts, if drawn from nature with judgment and taſte, are ſtill read with avidity. The voyage under review ranks among that number. Mr. Turnbull has ſenſibility to receive intereſting impreſſions, judgment to ſelect, and probity to relate with fidelity the facts and occurrences which came under his notice, and attracted his attention.

Mr. Turnbull, whilſt ſecond officer of the Barwell, in 1799, with the firſt officer of that ſhip, had every reaſon to ſuppoſe, from their own actual obſervation, that the Americans carried on a moſt lucrative trade to the north-weſt of that vaſt continent*. Strongly impreſſed with this perſuaſion, they reſolved, on their return home, to repreſent it to ſome gentlemen of well-known mercantile enterprize. They approved of the ſpeculation, and loſt no time in preparing for its execution. Having obtained the neceſſary permiſſion of the Eaſt India Company, they proceeded to Portſmouth, in a new ſhip, in the latter end of May; and having there joined their convoy and the Eaſt India fleet, finally left England on the firſt of July, to puſh their fortunes in regions but little frequented by Europeans. They ſoon reached the iſland of Madeira, "that garden of the world." Having touched at Brazil, and the Cape of Good Hope, where we are entertained with manners, cuſtoms, and occurrences, they proceed on their voyage, and, through Bankes's Straits, arrive at Port Jackſon, in Botany Bay, being the third veſſel that had ever attempted this paſſage. It was reſolved, that Mr. Turnbull ſhould remain here, to diſpoſe of the cargo, whilſt the Captain ſhould proceed in the veſſel

* The grammatical conſtruction here points to CHINA: but Mr. Turnbull muſt mean the Continent of AMERICA.

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on the north weſt ſpeculation. Mr. Turnbull being now a reſident, *pro tempore*, in Botany Bay, enjoyed a favourable opportunity of giving ſome attention to the nature and circumſtances of this ſo often mentioned, but little known, ſettlement. One characteriſtic of the colony, and which ſtruck Mr. T. with peculiar force, was this:

"That it is almoſt the only ſettlement in the world in which the reſidence of Europeans has produced abſolutely no change in the manners or uſeful knowledge of the natives." "The inhabitants of Otaheite (as Mr. T. mentions afterwards) have adopted our fiſhing-hooks, acknowledged the ſuperiority of our tools, and almoſt univerſally laid aſide their implements of bone. The Sandwich iſlanders are in many reſpects ſtill more advanced in the knowledge and uſe of European commodities. It is not ſo with the natives of New Holland: they have gained nothing in civilization ſince their firſt diſcovery."

The town of Sydney, the capital of the colony, and the ſeat of government, is deſcribed. An account is given of its population, the civil government, and general character of the ſettlers. "Nearly one half of the whole population, both men and women, are Iriſh convicts, many of whom were tranſported thither for ſeditious practices." Mr. Turnbull is of opinion, that if an enemy were to make their appearance in any force that ſhould promiſe effect, this part of the convicts, at leaſt, would join them. There is indeed one ſecurity, Mr. T. obſerves, againſt any attack of this nature—"the little value of the ſettlement to the conquerors;" but if New South Wales is nothing in itſelf, like Malta it may have a relative importance. "The multitude of law-ſuits and litigations in this colony exceed all proportion to its population. There were not leſs than three hundred capiaſes, ſummonſes, and executions, to be brought forward at the next ſitting of the civil court, and the fees of office to the provoſt were ſaid to amount to nearly three hundred pounds." Mr. T. ſuppoſes, that this "may appear ſtrange." To moſt readers we preſume it will appear quite natural, and what was to be expected.

"The Aboriginal inhabitants of this diſtant region are, beyond compariſon, the moſt barbarous on the face of the earth. The reſidence of Europeans (as had been before noticed) has here been wholly ineffectual. The natives are ſtill in the ſame ſtate as at our firſt ſettlement. Every day are men and women to be ſeen in the ſtreets of Sydney and Paramatta, naked as in the moment of their birth. They ſtill perſiſt in the enjoyment of their eaſe and liberty in their own way, and turn a deaf ear to any advice on this ſubject.

"Is this to be imputed to a greater portion of natural ſtupidity than uſually falls to the lot of ſavages? By no means: if an accurate obſervation, and a quick perception, of the ridiculous, be admitted as a proof of natural talents, the natives of New South Wales are by no means deficient. Their mimicking of the oddities, dreſs, walk, gait, and looks of all the Europeans whom they have ſeen, from the time of Governor Philips downwards, is ſo exact, as to be a kind of hiſtoric regiſter of their ſeveral actions and characters. Governor Philips and Colonel Groſs [ſhould not this be Groſe?]

Grose?] they imitate to the life; and to this day, if there be any thing peculiar in any of our countrymen, Officers in the Corps, or even convicts, any caſt in the eye, or hobble in the gait, any trip, or ſtrut, ſtammering, or thick ſpeaking, they catch it in the moment, and repreſent it in a manner which renders it impoſſible not to recognize the original. They are, moreover, great proficients in the language and Newgate ſlang of the convicts, and in the caſe of any quarrel are by no means unequal to them in the exchange of abuſe.

" But this is the ſum total of their acquiſitions from European intercourſe. In every other reſpect, they appear incapable of any improvement, or even change."

This incapacity in the New Hollanders, Mr. T. does not impute to any unuſual portion of ſtupidity, becauſe they are found to be admirable mimicks; for he preſumes that " a quick perception of the *ridiculous* muſt be admitted as a proof of natural talents. Certainly a quick perception of the *ridiculous* (ſo nearly allied to the exerciſe of reaſon) muſt be admitted as a proof of quick talents. But does the mimicking of thoſe ſavages, in every other reſpect ſo ſtupid, intractable, and indocile, proceed from the *ſenſus ridiculi* (which the celebrated profeſſor Hutchinſon conſiders as an original principle in human nature, as well as a moral ſenſe, a ſenſe of beauty, &c.) and not rather, like that of apes and parrots, from what appears ſingular, peculiar, marked, or ſtriking? In the town of Perth, about forty years ago, there was a man of the name of Lenox, who was deaf and dumb, and certainly had the appearance, at leaſt, of ſtupidity; yet *Dumbie* Lenox, as he was called, was a moſt excellent mimic. There was not any perſon of note in the town, that might not immediately be recognized from *Dumbie* Lenox's imitation of his gait, manner, and general appearance. Mimicry depends on the ſenſes and pliability of the organs, not on the intellect. When the New Hollanders ſhall become better reaſoners, they will be worſe mimics.

The account that is given by our author of the means and modes of life, the ways, or arts in peace and war, and general character of the New Hollanders, as well as of the inhabitants of the Society and Sandwich iſlands, &c. is in perfect conformity with the narratives of Capt. Cook and other voyagers: but he has noticed and recorded many curious particulars which they have not mentioned, and which probably did not fall under their obſervation. They are all of them great cheats, liars, beggars, and thieves: even the royal families, kings and queens, princes and princeſſes, not excepted. Their principal ſubſiſtence, as has been obſerved by every viſitor, is drawn from the ſea and rivers; and hence the ſea-coaſt is much better inhabited than the interior.

" When a dead whale is caſt on ſhore, they (the New Hollanders) live ſumptuouſly, flocking to it in great numbers, and ſeldom leave it till the bones are well picked. Their ſubſtitute for bread is a ſpecies of root, ſomething reſembling the fern. It is roaſted and pounded between two ſtones, and being thus mixed with fiſh, and perhaps ſome other ingredients, conſtitutes

ſtitutes the chief part of their food. They have oyſters of an extraordinary ſize, three of them being ſufficient for any ordinary man."

"The general cauſes of quarrels among the natives of Botany Bay appear to ariſe from jealouſy of their women; and one mode of retaliation is, ſeizing on and raviſhing them, which, we preſume, is not ſo grievous a ſuffering there as it would be in Europe."—"The quickneſs of their eye and ear is equally ſingular. They can hear and diſtinguiſh objects which would eſcape an European. This circumſtance renders them very acceptable guides to our ſportſmen in the woods, as they never fail to point out the game before any European can diſcover it. They ſleep beneath the canopy of heaven for their covering. In wet weather they retreat to the caverns in the rocks, and remain there, having lighted fires at the mouth, till the tempeſt is diſpelled. They are ſaid to be terribly afraid of viſions and apparitions. Their canoes, compoſed of the bark of trees tied together in ſmall ſplinters, are the moſt miſerable that it is poſſible to conceive. They are actually half full of water; and nothing but the buoyancy of the materials could prevent them a minute from ſinking. In this crazy craft, a whole family may frequently be ſeen a-fiſhing. A fire of embers is uſually in the midſt of the veſſel, and the fiſh they catch is thus dreſſed, or rather half-warmed, in the ſame inſtant in which it is caught."

On the firſt ſettlement of the colony at Botany Bay, all intercourſe was much impeded by their jealouſy of their new viſitors.

"It was not without many friendly advances, and ſome artifice, that the Governor could in any degree appeaſe them, or induce them to venture among the ſettlers. One of their chiefs, Bennelong, a warrior of great repute, was caught by a very ſingular expedient. Having taken a liking to a ſailor's jacket, it was offered to him without heſitation, and a ſailor ordered to aſſiſt him in putting it on. The fellow obeyed, and by putting the back of the jacket on front, contrived to hamper the arms, and effectually ſecure the ſturdy ſavage."

Mr. T. heard another ridiculous anecdote, the truth of which "he does not abſolutely [*too abſolutely*, he ſays; but *abſolute* admits not of any degrees] aſſert, though the ignorance of the natives, he obſerves at the ſame time, renders it not incredible.

"Some fiſh belonging to the ſailors of a ſhip in the harbour, boiling in a camp-kettle over the fire on ſhore, ſome of the natives obſerved them with a look of deſire, and, watching their opportunity, ſlily put in their hands to take one out; and being thus, as it were, caught in a trap, betook themſelves to flight, with looks full of equal terror and aſtoniſhment, and roaring, like ſo many wounded bulls. I can the more readily believe this, as I know from experience, that, except in their mimicry, they can ſcarcely connect two ideas together."

Therefore, as above obſerved, excellence in mimicry is not a proof of excellent natural talents. While we do not in every inſtance agree with our candid author in his concluſions, we greatly reſpect his ſtrict regard to truth, in his narration of matters of fact. If it had been his object to prove, from the admirable mimicry of thoſe ſavages, that they had good natural parts, he would not have inſiſted ſo much on

their extreme ſtupidity in other reſpects. He ſtates facts, leaving theories to others; though he ſometimes ſuggeſts hints for the exerciſe of reflection.

The curioſity of knowing the character and circumſtances of newly-diſcovered ſavages is ſcarcely greater than that of knowing the light in which our own character and circumſtances are viewed by them. The following anecdotes, therefore, of Bennelong, the chief already mentioned, are introduced into this narrative with taſte and judgment.

"Whilſt Bennelong was in England, he was preſented to many of the principal nobility and firſt families of the kingdom, and received from many of them preſents of clothes and other articles, which a ſavage of any other country would have deemed almoſt ineſtimable. It was not ſo, however, with Bennelong. He was no ſooner re-landed in his own country, than he forgot, or at leaſt laid aſide, all the ornaments and improvements he had reaped from his travels, and returned, as if with increaſed reliſh, to all his former loathſome and ſavage habits. His clothes were thrown away, as burthenſome reſtraints on the freedom of his limbs, and he became again as complete a New-Hollander, as if he had never left his native wilds. Indeed the ſame obſervation holds good with reſpect to the reſt of his countrymen; for though they are continually craving clothes, it is but very ſeldom that they appear in them a ſecond time.

"It cannot, indeed, be denied that Bennelong is ſomewhat advanced beyond his countrymen in European acquiſitions, for he can occaſionally converſe with eaſe and even intereſt. The names of Lady Sydney and Lady Jane Dundas are often in his mouth; and he appears juſtly grateful for the favours received from theſe his fair patroneſſes. It is not unpleaſing to liſten to his relations of the wonders ſeen by him during his abode in England. One incident, in particular, he relates with all the ſatisfaction of a favourite ſtory: that being at the houſe of a very reſpectable gentleman, and ſurrounded with numberleſs viſitors of curioſity, an old gentleman, unmoved amidſt the general eagerneſs, took no further notice of him than beſtowing on him a ſingle glance, and then helped himſelf bountifully to a pinch of ſnuff, and requeſted the company to paſs the bottle, which had for ſome time been quite neglected. This apathy and inflexible gravity ſeem to have made more impreſſion on the mind of Bennelong than all the wonders and glitters of dreſs that he had ſeen that evening; and from the pleaſure he takes in relating this incident, he no doubt conſiders the old gentleman as one of the wiſeſt men in the company, or perhaps in England. Bennelong (who is his countrymen in epitome) is ſo addicted to drinking, that he would ſcarcely ever be ſober if he could obtain ſpirits; and whenever intoxicated, he is intolerably miſchievous.

"A gentleman of great humanity made the trial of cultivating a young native boy and girl, beginning with them from their infancy, juſtly thinking that his early commencement gave the beſt promiſe of ſucceſs.

"They were accordingly ſtrictly and anxiouſly attended, and ſupplied with food, clothes, and every thing either neceſſary to the comfort, or to the forming of them to European habits. No ſooner, however, on their advanced age, were they reſtored to their free choice, and liberty of action, than, throwing aſide all their European improvements, and rejecting with diſdain all the habits of civilized life, they returned to their countrymen,

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and preferred even the famine of a ſavage life to all the plenty and comparative luxury of a civil ſociety. Numberleſs are the other examples of the ſame kind; indeed ſo many as almoſt to induce a concluſion, that a New Hollander is phyſically incapable of civilization. The New Hollanders are wholly without any form of government, or any family or individual whom they acknowledge as their king or chief.

"Parturition here ſeems excepted from the general curſe. The women, in a few hours after their delivery, return to the performance of their domeſtic duties. Whilſt the female child is in its infancy, they deprive it of the two firſt [the firſt two] joints of the little finger of the right hand; the operation being effected by obſtructing the circulation, by means of a light ligature. The diſmembered part is thrown into the ſea, that the child may be hereafter fortunate in fiſhing. They have alſo a cuſtom of extracting from the male children, about the age of puberty, one of their front teeth."

Mr. Turnbull, departing from Port Jackſon, proceeds to Norfolk iſland, the beauty and fertility of which, as well as of two ſmaller adjacent iſlands, known by the name of Philips and Nepean, are deſcribed. At Norfolk iſland, he was informed by a letter from his companion, the Captain of the ſhip, that the North-Weſt ſpeculation had entirely failed, and that he had in conſequence returned to Port Jackſon; that, under theſe circumſtances, he had come to a reſolution to try Baſs's Straits, and endeavour to make up a cargo of ſkins, as their licence from the Eaſt India Company compelled them to viſit China.

The following ſingular ſtory of a fugitive, beſides that it is amuſing in itſelf, contains ſome intereſting local deſcription.

"As the Captain (whoſe name is not mentioned) returned from his voyage to the North-Weſt, he was compelled, by the neceſſity of recruiting his ſtock of freſh water, to ſtop at one of thoſe ſolitary iſlands with which the ſurface of the South Sea is every where ſtudded, and not one half of which, however fertile and beautiful, have any other inhabitants than the uſual ſea-birds. After the watering was completed, the boat was diſpatched to another part of the iſland, abounding in the cocoa nut and cabbage tree, which, for the convenience of gathering the fruit, they had begun to cut down. They were all in the uſual ſpirits of men who touch at land after the long confinement of a ſea voyage, when their mirth was interrupted by a moſt hideous noiſe. The ſound approached, exclaiming to them, in horrid exclamations, and good Engliſh, as they thought, to deſiſt. The whole party were now panic-ſtruck. Perſuaded that it could be nothing but a ſupernatural being warning them from his ſacred domain, and that inſtant death, or ſome horrible puniſhment, would attend their diſobedience; a council of war was held on the ſpot, and, after ſome *pros* and *cons*, it was finally agreed to ſtand by one another, and not to take to their heels till the enemy appeared. The ſpectre at length advanced, in appearance a ſavage, and reproached them for their unprovoked treſpaſs on his premiſes. The party were at length convinced that their monſter was no other than a man, who, according to his own account and conjectural reaſoning, had been left on the iſland by a ſhip about four months before. The reader will readily conclude, that he had not received this puniſhment for his good behaviour. His beard had not been ſhaved ſince the firſt moment of his landing. His

raiment was all in rags, and his fleth as filthy as a miner who had never appeared above the furface of his mother earth.

" The firft enquiry, of courfe, was, how he came to be left on the iſland, with every probability of periſhing: a queſtion to which he could return no very ſatisfactory anſwer. The next queſtion was, as to his mode of living, to which he replied somewhat more intelligibly; that the principal article of his ſubſiſtence was the cocoa nut, fiſh, and land and ſea crab: that one time he had the good fortune to kill a wild hog, but, for want of ſalt to preſerve it, he could make it laſt but two days.

" After ſome farther intercourſe, ſome of the party accompanied him to what he called his houſe, which was built in a particular ſhape, three poſts being ſunk in the ground, and inclined towards each other, ſo as to form a complete half of a regular biſected cone. The roof was doubly and trebly matted over with the leaves and ſmaller branches of the cocoa-nut tree; but the houſe altogether appeared more like a dog-kennel than a ſuitable abode for a human being. The houſehold furniture conſiſted of an old trunk, a dirty flock bed, an axe, a pocket knife, a butcher's ſteel, and four gun flints. In this ſituation, four hundred miles from any human being, and at almoſt an immeaſurable diſtance from his native country, this fellow appeared ſo contented with his condition, that he ſeemed to have no wiſh to depart. When a propoſal was made to him to accompany our men to the ſhip, he pauſed for ſome time, and at length made a demand for wages, which, as expreſſive of indifference, would doubtleſs have juſtified them in leaving him to his fate. At length, however, he ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded, but ſtill ſeemed to conſider the convenience mutual, or rather that we were the obliged party.

They could never procure from him any ſatisfactory account as to the cauſe of his being left on the iſland; but they never entertained any doubt, that it was no ſlight crime that could provoke his Captain and his comrades to ſuch an exemplary puniſhment. Indeed his ſubſequent conduct was ſuch as to juſtify this conjecture; for, inſtead of any gratitude to his deliverers, he was found to be ſuch a mover of ſedition amongſt the ſhip's company, that, for the preſervation of good order in the ſhip, it was thought prudent to leave him at Port Jackſon."

Our voyagers, leaving Norfolk iſland with a fair wind, proceeded to Otaheite, where they were viſited by the chiefs and miſſionaries.

" The King being very deſirous to obtain ſome of our ava, that is, ſpirituous liquors, we gratified him with a ſmall quantity, which was handed down to him in a cocoa-nut ſhell in his canoe. On receiving the preſent, he ſaid aloud 'My ty te tata, my ty te pohie—Very good men, very good ſhip.' We afterwards learned, that his Majeſty was ſomewhat too much addicted to the uſe of ſuch liquors, and that he would go all lengths to procure them. His father Pomarie was not yet returned from an expedition againſt his enemies in another part of the iſland. It may be neceſſary here to obſerve, that, by the laws of Otaheite, the ſon, immediately on his birth, ſucceeds to the dignity of his father, the father, from that inſtant becoming only adminiſtrator for his child. Oloo therefore was king, and Pomarrie, his father, regent.

" Nothing, in the way of preſents, was ſo acceptable as fire arms. No other kind of preſent could be made acceptable, even to the Queen Dowager Edeoh. Whatever was offered to her, cloth, looking-glaſſes, ſciſſars, even

even axes, ſhe rejected with diſdain, making us underſtand that ſhe was as capable as any man in the country of making uſe of fire arms. We had indeed been informed by the Miſſionaries, that ſhe was not leſs expert as a warrior than as a politician. We therefore explained, that the articles we had preſented to her, were ſuch as would have been eagerly preferred by our fair country women, and concluded by giving her a muſket, with which ſhe was perfectly ſatisfied."

Our voyagers were alſo viſited by the regent Pomarie—

"Who deſired to be accommodated with a bed, as well for himſelf as for a ſupplementary wife, who attended him in the double capacity of a miſtreſs and ſervant. It was his practice to be fed by this lady, or ſome other truſty attendant, when in company with ſtrangers; as, according to the cuſtoms of Otaheite, he would have diſgraced himſelf by carrying his hand to his mouth. We found, however, afterwards, that he was not ſo ſcrupulous on ſhore, on this point of etiquette. During the afternoon, that he might ſee how much I conſidered myſelf honoured by becoming his tayo* (or particular friend) I ſhewed him all poſſible attention, and in perſon waited on him as his ſervant. His queſtions were as numerous, and for the moſt part as inſignificant as uſual: though ſome of them argued a greater ſtrength of mind, and a more warlike propenſity. He enquired of us repeatedly, if any of us were acquainted with the art of making gunpowder; and, as he had learned from the mutineers of the Bounty, that it was a compoſition, and not the farina of a vegetable, as ſuppoſed by other ſavages, he demanded to be informed of its component parts, and whether they might not be found in the ſoil of Otaheite? Was my Royal Maſter a longer man than him? Had he a comely countenance? Was his dreſs elegant?—and ſundry other particulars reſpecting her Majeſty, and the ladies of rank in our country. Such was the curioſity of Pomarie and his female attendant, that the whole afternoon was employed in minutely examining every object around them. They were particularly ſtruck with the ſight of two American negroes in our ſhip's company, both of whom were of a complexion uncommonly dark, and had ſhort woolly hair. The Otoheitans ſeemed to think the deep colour of the ſkin was produced by painting, as they at different times tried to rub it off.

"The Otaheitans, like other ſavages, are paſſionately fond of muſic. Every feature of their face, and member of their body, bears [not bear] teſtimony to its impreſſion; no inconſiderable arguments of their ſenſibility and ſocial affection.

"One day we had Edeoh and her favourite chief (to whom ſhe had been attached ſince ſhe parted from Pomarie) to dine on board; not that they cared for our food, dreſſed after our own manner, but becauſe they knew that unleſs they ate with us, they could hope for none of our ava and tobacco, for which they both ardently longed. The effects of the liquor on the two gueſts were very different; for while the man became mad and furious, the poor Queen Dowager appeared ſilly and childiſh. She burſt into tears, and trembled with fear, as her companion grew outrageous and deſperate. Juſt

* When they become Tayos, or particular friends, they exchange names. Mr. Turnbull, for example, was called Pomarie; Pomarie, Turnbull.

at this time, Pomarie came on board to have some work done at our forge, and hearing the noise below, was touched with compassion for Edeah, his former consort; but, unwilling personally to interfere, he beckoned to me to go down, and endeavour to arrange matters, without his appearing to know any thing of the business. This was done: but it was only by a promise of a little more spirits, on condition that peace should be restored, that the fury of the savage could be restrained from breaking out in some desperate act.

Leaving Otaheite, they arrived at Huaheine.

"While we lay off the mouth of the harbour, we were agreeably surprized at the approach of a large double canoe, as carrying a pendant and red flag. We concluded that the King, the Admiral, or some other great chief, was on board: but when the canoe came along side, we discovered that the stranger was no other than one of our former shipmates, a half-witted restless fellow, who had for some time past resided in the island.

"Indeed there does not occur a greater difficulty to all European ships in the South Seas than that of keeping their crews together: such is the seduction of that life of indolence, and carelessness, which the several islands hold out: the beauty of the country, particularly that of Otaheite, and still more the facility with which the necessaries of life may be procured, are temptations too powerful to sailors exhausted with the fatigue of such a long voyage. Add to this, the women: and the difficulty of restraining our seamen against so many attractions will excite no farther surprize."

By the advice of their shipmate whom they found at Huaheine, they left that island, and proceeded to the knavish and treacherous ULITEA, where a plan was concluded between a number of convicts (whom they had been obliged, from the desertion of many of their men, to take on board as part of their crew at Botany Bay) and the chiefs, for cutting the vessel from her anchors, letting her drive on shore, murdering the ship's company, and making prey of the ship. Hostilities ensued between the English and Uliteans, aided by some deserters: but all difficulties and dangers being happily surmounted, our countrymen were enabled to make their escape from Ulitea. Passing by the islands of Bolobolla and Mouna, in which last they had some intercourse with the natives, they bade adieu, for the present, to the Society Islands.

(To be concluded in our next.)

An Essay on the Principle and Origin of Sovereign Power. By a Dignitary of the Church. Translated from the French, with a Preface and Appendix. 8vo. Pp. 298. 7s. Hatchard. 1805.

THE French revolution, and the usurpation of the throne of France by Napoleon Buonaparté, appear to have given rise to this publication, which the author divides into two parts. In the first of these, consisting of four chapters, he enters into a refutation of the hypothesis of a state of nature anterior to society, and of a primitive compact;

compact; and in the ſecond, he endeavours to point out and trace the firſt, or the original ſtate of ſociety. He endeavours to inveſtigate and aſcertain theſe three points, whether civil ſociety aroſe from a primitive convention between men independent of all reſtraint from authority; whether ſuch a ſtate of natural independence has ever exiſted; and whether ſuch a ſtate is even poſſible; attempting, in the firſt part of his performance, to prove, 1ſt, That from the hypotheſis of ſuch a ſtate ſyſtems are derived moſt deſtructive both to ſociety and to the intereſts of religion; 2dly, that the hypotheſis itſelf is not ſupported by any hiſtorical facts; 3dly, that it is atheiſtical, reflecting on Divine Providence, and contrary to revealed truths; 4thly, that it is repugnant to reaſon, even unenlightened by revelation. And, in the ſecond part, he labours to eſtabliſh the doctrine, that the rights of ſovereigns are conſecrated by religion; that their authority emanates from a divine ſource, proceeding from God himſelf; and attempts to trace this emanation in the very ordinances of nature themſelves.

In the firſt chapter of the firſt part, he combats, we think ſucceſsfully, the doctrines of Hobbes, Monteſquieu, and Rouſſeau, ſo far at leaſt as they relate to the ſuppoſition of men exiſting in an independent inſulated ſituation, or ſtate of nature, prior to every kind of ſociety. After entering into a particular examination of their opinions, he draws a compariſon between their principles in the followings words:

"In decompoſing, or analyſing the nature of man, Hobbes, with much acuteneſs of diſcrimination, ſaw that his vicious propenſities, when unreſtrained by the laws of ſociety, inclined him to diſturb general harmony. This is a truth but too well evinced by experience. This author has concluded, that, previous to the eſtabliſhment of ſociety, the ſtate of nature was a ſtate of anarchy: a falſe concluſion, becauſe man is a being eſſentially ſociable, and becauſe man has never lived in a ſtate of nature prior to ſociety, and out of, and diſtinct from a ſtate of ſociety.

"Monteſquieu and Rouſſeau have attacked the principle laid down by Hobbes. They have remarked, that God could not place man in a ſtate of warfare, where natural laws could not be diſpenſed, nor operate. So far, they reaſoned juſtly. But they ſubjoin, that man exiſts in peace with his kind, in the ſtate of nature anterior to that of ſociety. Here, equally with Hobbes, they reaſon erroneouſly. For man is born with the propenſities of a fallen and corrupt nature; and a ſtate of nature cannot be ſuppoſed where man, independent of all authority, would not be a prey to his own paſſions, and at war with his fellow-creatures.

"Why have theſe writers on either ſide of the queſtion, fallen into error? It is becauſe they have not perceived, that ſociety is the natural ſtate of man, at once a reaſonable, and corrupt being. Society developes his reaſon, by ſituating him in a ſtate of mutual relations with his kind: and ſhe reſtrains his paſſions, by ſubjecting him to a governing authority. In a word, the ſyſtem of Hobbes is abſurd, becauſe in conſidering man, *ſuch as he is*, ſince his fall, he places him in a ſtate of nature ſubject to no authority, and abandons him to the fury of his vicious and unruly inclinations. Monteſquieu and Rouſſeau, on the contrary, ſuppoſing man, *what he is not*, conclude, that his paſſions are the very cauſe of ſociety, and that he would not poſſeſs

poſſeſs them in the ſtate of nature, or at leaſt, that they would not incline him more to evil than to good. Now, this hypotheſis will not accord with the ſtate of degradation and loſs of moral principle to which ſin has reduced his will and general habits; a ſtate which even the heathen philoſophers have ſuppoſed."

In the ſecond chapter, he has recourſe to the book of Geneſis to ſhow, that the hypotheſis of men's having exiſted individually, ſeparately, and independently, in an inſulated ſituation and condition, prior to any ſort of ſociety, and having removed, for the ſake of mutual ſupport and convenience, from that ſtate into the ſocial, in virtue of an original or primitive compact formed or entered into by them in that ſituation, is not ſupported by any hiſtorical facts. We readily allow that this aſſertion is not only true, but that the truth of it is eſtabliſhed by hiſtory both ſacred and profane, as well as by obſervation and experience. Men never did nor ever can exiſt but in ſociety, for which they are formed by nature. But ever ſince there have been men, there have been quarrels, which have rendered an attention on their part to ſelf-preſervation, even in the ſimpleſt forms or ſtages of ſociety, abſolutely neceſſary. As in ſcience, however, no ſuppoſition is admiſſible, that is either contrary to demonſtrable truth, or repugnant to certain and well-known data, ſo the hypotheſis of "man fallen from the clouds, abandoned to himſelf, and without education, antecedent to the formation of any ſociety," is a fiction that ought not to be granted, even to writers on law and natural rights, becauſe it is inconſiſtent with reaſon, which ſhews us, beyond the poſſibility of contradiction, that ſociety is neceſſary for the propagation and preſervation of the ſpecies; with revelation, which informs us, that man was not only created male and female, as it was not good that Adam ſhould be alone, but was alſo commanded to be fruitful and multiply; with hiſtorical facts, with experience and obſervation, which have always found men, in even the rudeſt and moſt ignorant ſtate, in ſome ſort of ſociety or other; and with the deſires, weakneſſes, and wants of human nature, which all conſpire to render man naturally prone to ſociety, as abſolutely neceſſary for his happineſs, ſecurity, and preſervation. At the ſame time we cannot ſubſcribe to his opinion, that the ſtate of nature is a ſtate of civilization, and that the ſavage ſtate is fartheſt removed from the ſame; for we cannot help regarding thoſe forms of the family-ſtate of ſociety, that are moſt ſimple, as approaching neareſt to the ſtate of nature.

He ſeems to think that civilized ſociety exiſted in greateſt perfection when Adam and Eve were in a ſtate of innocence; that civilization, with a knowledge of religion, the arts, and ſciences, gradually diminiſhed as their deſcendants ſeparated themſelves to a greater and greater diſtance from them, till men loſt all juſt and proper ideas of the Supreme Being, as well as an acquaintance with the arts of life, and degenerated into a ſtate of ignorance, ſavageneſs, and barbariſm, which, in his opinion, is in the extreme oppoſite to that of nature. We on the other hand conceive, that no fair or reaſonable concluſions or inferences

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can be drawn from the degree of civilization and knowledge, which our firſt parents enjoyed in paradiſe, with regard to the natural ſtate of man fallen and corrupt as he now is. In contemplating the ſtate of nature, we muſt take man as he really exiſts at preſent, without attempting to view him as that being, which we are told he originally was.

There are alſo ſome other poſitions of this author, which we cannot admit; ſuch, for inſtance, as theſe; that the ſavages in America have a police, councils, and forms of government, and that the heads of families have the power of life and death. For they have no regulations among them, even for the puniſhment of murder, which is the greateſt crime that can be committed in ſociety. In ſuch caſes, retaliation is the only principle of action among them; and that is frequently for a conſiderable length of time delayed. Every family, without conſulting any other, follows the bent of its own inclination; and this muſt neceſſarily be the caſe, whilſt they continue to ſubſiſt chiefly by fiſhing and hunting. The head of a family neither claims nor exerciſes the power of life and death. The mere attempt to exerciſe ſuch a power would generally prove fatal to him. They are as fond and careful of their children, in their helpleſs and infant ſtate, as people in more advanced ſtages of ſociety are, and even more ſo. Parental authority among them is accompanied with no coercion, but is exerciſed with the greateſt lenity and mildneſs. They ſeldom even reprove their children, and never or very rarely indeed chaſtiſe them. And as to their war-councils, it is as neceſſary for all the heads of families to be preſent at them, as for the warriors and young men fit for acting as ſuch, who generally attend when they can, are animated to warlike exploits by the ſpeeches of their war-chiefs, and are invited to accompany them on their expeditions, which they ſometimes do, and ſometimes not, as they themſelves think proper. The very women and children are not excluded from their meetings, if they chooſe to attend. We agree, however, with the author in this poſition, that there never was nor could be *a primordial compact entered into by men living prior to the forming of it individually, ſeparately, and independently of one another.* It will be but fair, however, to communicate to our readers his ſentiments on theſe points in his own words.

"The firſt deſcendants of the original parents of mankind, we ſee, lived in civilized ſociety. It muſt be confeſſed, that others who removed to ſituations diſtant from the country of their anceſtors, have become barbarous and almoſt ſavage. What inference are we to draw from this, to cauſe it to bear on the ſuppoſitions of the publiciſts? It is, that all the nations from Noah downwards, who had preſerved the ſame language, the ſame ſocial relations, and who had brought to perfection the ſciences and arts, would not have been in a ſtate of nature. It would have been the poſterity of Japheth, who, in the wild foreſts of unenlightened Europe, would have ſought the ſtate of nature to live in it, till they might deem it eligible to relinquiſh

relinquiſh it, to return to a ſtate of civilization by the formation of a ſocial compact.

" Nevertheleſs, ſome authors have endeavoured to reconcile this hypotheſis with hiſtorical facts. " When under the ſocial compact," ſays a modern writer, " our forefathers did not ſay, ſimply, We muſt be governed. They ſaid, We wiſh to have ſuch a certain ſpecies of government, and, immediately, raiſed Pharamond on their bucklers." This writer quotes injudiciouſly. Does he imagine that our anceſtors had not been governed prior to this period? They had rulers, prieſts, and religious worſhip; they had laws, ſince the Salic laws exiſted before Pharamond's time. In a word, they had a government; whether an ariſtocracy, or a democracy, it matters not. They had a ſovereign. It is by his will, that the people, in purſuance of eſtabliſhed forms, aſſemble and chooſe a king. If the government becomes legitimately monarchical, this is alſo effected by the intervention of the ſame authority that has hitherto ruled, and which reſigns the power into the hands of the new ſovereign. Find out, prior to Pharamond's time, the primordial compact among the French. I ſuſpect its original exiſtence cannot be aſcertained, and that hiſtory does not record the period of its formation.—D. APPENDIX.

" The ſuppoſition of men altogether independent, and relinquiſhing their woods to form a political conſtitution, involves a ridiculous abſurdity. The very ſavages of America do not live in a ſtate of anarchy. Let us ſuppoſe that a legiſlator undertakes to preſent to them a code of laws. If they accept of it, we are not to conclude that the primitive compact has raiſed a ſovereign to the throne. The ſovereignty and the government had a prior exiſtence, becauſe they had a police, rulers, and councils that regulated the common affairs of the people: a form of government, unqueſtionably, ſimple, but proportioned to their wants, and not giving riſe, like ours, to various complicated intereſts involving political and contentious diſcuſſions. " The European contemplating only the forms of government peculiar to his own country, at firſt, regards the nations of North America, as ſavages ſcattered among the woods. He is, afterwards, not a little ſurpriſed at finding a ſenate with whom he can negotiate, and warriors prepared to oppoſe his enterpriſes. This ſenate is compoſed of the heads of families, who are, actually, independent ſovereigns, having, in their reſpective families, the power of life and death." (Ferguſon.)

" It is taking an unfair, and deceiving view of the ſubject, to term a conſtitutional charter, a Magna Charter, or a bill of rights, which among ſome nations originated in conventions that expreſſed the public will in a formal manner, a primitive compact. The origin of ſovereignty is by no means to be found in ſuch conventions: for they exhibit nations who had already been ſubject to laws. Theſe conventions could not have been legitimate and regular, but, by the concurrence of a pre-exiſting authority that directs men's minds to that particular object of reform or political change, which it may be expedient to introduce into the ſtate. Lycurgus was a king, before he became a legiſlator. Athens had laws before the times of Solon.

" Let us not confound two things very diſtinct in their nature; a *primordial contract* which men ſuppoſed independent of all authority might enter into, and an *accidental convention* formed by a nation of long ſtanding. The one would be an eſſential change operated in the ſtate of primitive man,

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become ſocial. The other is but a modification of that ſocial ſtate which he has always enjoyed as his natural ſtate. Here, it is a nation thoroughly eſtabliſhed, that changes its conſtitution, and under the name of the *people* we are to underſtand the whole body politic, the head, and its members, the ſovereign and his ſubjects. Nothing is effected but by the will of the rulers of the ſtate acting in concert with members conſtituting it. Under the other conſideration of the ſubject, there would be no ſocial body politic. It would be an aggregation of men poſſeſſing all, the ſame rights. The ſtate of ſociety they adopt, would be the unconſtrained effect of their volition that would not deſtroy their right to the independence they would hold from nature. This compact, founded on original independence, would be binding on them while its condjtions were literally fulfilled: but ſhould one of the contracting parties violate theſe, then the original right of independence would recur in its fulleſt force. Under theſe ſuppoſitions, it is by the election on the part of the people, that kings now reign; now, equally as they did at the period of the primitive contract. The people might ſay to them at all times, *You do not accomplish the object of your institution, we no longer owe you obedience.* Under the oppoſite hypotheſis, the ſubject always remains a ſubject, during, and after the convention, as he was previouſly, and ſubmits to the laws legiſlated for his benefit. It is, then, evident, that the two compacts in queſtion have in their nature, nothing of a common import. A convention ariſing from circumſtances, formed by a people * to reform their government, is either legitimate, or is not legitimate †. It is legal, if its proceedings and its convocation are ſanctioned by the concurrence of the conſtituted authorities of the ſtate. It is illegal, if it aſſembles and acts by an inſurrection of the people againſt the prince, or the rulers who are inveſted with power. It is, undoubtedly, poſſible that a conſtitution, thus viciouſly formed, and of unſanctioned origin, may maintain itſelf. But let us not miſtake this poſition; if the laws promulgated under ſuch a convention, during a revolution, become, ſubſequently, obligatory on a nation, and if a new power aſſumes the right of ruling over the people, it is not to the illegal and uſurped authority of this convention that this is to be attributed; it is to be aſcribed to that preſcriptive authority which length of time gives to eſtabliſhments, by a ſanction they could not derive from any will of a revolted people. The laws of this preſcription, as they relate to the ſovereignty, will be the object of an important article in this work."

" * I ſuppoſe that the Poles, in the end of the laſt century, would have ſucceeded in the deſign they had of changing their conſtitution. The ſame conſtituted authorities who had, till that period, placed the crown on the head of an elected king, would have tranſmitted an hereditary right to the dynaſty whom they might have called to the throne. We muſt, doubtleſs, not confound the *diet of Poland, with the sovereign people of Rousseau.*"

" † I have no fear or heſitation in ſaying it. The treaties of peace which acknowledged the independence of Holland, and of the United States of America, were, by no means, tranſactions between two powers poſſeſſing equal rights. Until the period of the ſignature of theſe reſpective treaties, there was only one ſovereign relatively concerned. It was, in one caſe, the king of Spain who relinquiſhed his rights over Holland; and in the other, the king of England, who agreed not to exerciſe his, any longer, on the Continent of America. The two republics, only at theſe reſpective periods, commenced poſſeſſing ſovereign authority."

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In the third chapter he proceeds to prove, that the hypotheſis of a ſtate of nature anterior to ſociety is atheiſtical, reflects on providence, and is contrary to revealed truth. We readily allow, that this hypotheſis is contradictory to the account which Moſes has given us of the origin of man; but we cannot regard the mere fiction of ſuch a ſtate, for the purpoſe of illuſtration, as atheiſtical; and we do not think, that he has ſucceeded in his attempt to prove it ſo. We cannot ſubſcribe to his aſſertion in page 62, that the origin of government is intimately connected with revelation; for though the Scriptures give us an account of the origin of man, they have no where preſcribed an original form of government for him. The only ſort of government, that we know of, which revelation ever preſcribed, was the Theocracy delivered to the Iſraelites by Moſes. And we muſt alſo reject his poſition in page 65, that the American ſavage is in the oppoſite extreme to a ſtate of nature.

The author, though a dignitary of the church, does not in this chapter ſtick cloſe to his text, which is to prove, "that reaſon alone is armed and guarded againſt the ſuppoſition of a ſtate of nature, and of a primitive compact." We are clearly of opinion, that the hypotheſis of a ſtate of nature antecedent to all ſociety, and of a ſocial compact entered into by men in ſuch a ſtate, for the purpoſe of quitting it, is altogether chimerical, and repugnant both to reaſon and the nature of man. Not ſatisfied with this, however, he attempts, through a deficiency of correct diſcrimination, to eſtabliſh others, that have no direct connection with it, and glances at doctrines, which he lays down more particularly in the ſecond part, and which we will take particular notice of, as we entirely diſapprove of them. Before we enter into an examination of them, however, it is proper to preſent them to our readers in his own words.

"Man is a ſocial, and corrupt being. Nature has formed for his benefit ſociety regulated by peculiar laws; but his untoward paſſions, perpetually, diſturb the peaceful repoſe which this ſtate is calculated to afford. It is in order to reconcile theſe ſtrange contradictions of the human heart, that God has, from the beginning, ſubjected him to a ruling power, and has not left the inſtitution of government to the hazardous deciſion of human deliberations. Society was, originally, compoſed of two individuals, and, by an extenſion of the idea, the ſame radical principle ſtill holds. Already ſubordination exiſted between them; the woman is made ſubject to the man. Children are produced by their union. The father of the family is, naturally, the chief of this riſing ſociety. Here, we perceive the order eſtabliſhed in the world, from its formation, in the authority of one man over his kind, and this authority comes from God."

And, in page 99, ſpeaking of the publiciſts, he expreſſes his ſentiments in the following words:

"They have not conſidered the parental power, excepting in the actual ſtate of ſociety where its authority ſcarcely extends beyond the infancy of children. Imagining that its functions ceaſed, at the ſame period, in the ſtate of nature, they laid it down as a principle, that man arrived at years of diſcretion,

diſcretion, becomes independent of natural right, by his own natural right. That opinion is evidently falſe. The authority of the parent, under the law of nature, is not abrogated when his children are of age, but only aſſumes a different character, and is modified conformable to the new relations eſtabliſhed among the various branches of the family.

"This truth appears evident on comparing the government of nature, or original government, with the various political conſtitutions that exiſt in the world, and on diſcovering that they have been modelled on this ſimple original form. For we are not to ſuppoſe that the different forms of government known to us, are of human invention. If they are natural, it is in as far as they are founded on the government of nature. Let us mark the changes which it has undergone, or might have undergone. It commenced by an unmixed and abſolute monarchy, tempered only by the religious ſentiments of the father, and by his affection for his children. The children themſelves having become the heads reſpectively, of a particular family, or aſſociation, under the ſuperintendance of the common parent, were, of courſe, eligible to take their ſeats in the great council of the general clan. Thus, the government would be a monarchy tempered by ariſtocracy. On the demiſe of the chieftain, I ſuppoſe that his ſons, inſtead of ſeparating, have agreed to govern together, all the particular, or private families, or ſocieties, of which each was a head. In this caſe, the form of government would be an ariſtocracy. Let us again ſuppoſe, that their immediate heirs ſucceed them in the exerciſe of this ſpecies of power, and after them, again, their children and grand-children, continuing by common conſent, to carry on ſtill the government in common. The conſequence would be, that the number of thoſe governing, becoming almoſt equal to that of the governed, the government would degenerate into a democracy *, of all forms the moſt turbulent on account of the confuſion which reigns in the ſupreme council of the nation, into which all the citizens are admitted, without diſtinction.

"Thus, all the forms of government eſtabliſhed in the world, are natural. Were they not ſo, they could not ſubſiſt. Thus, that gradation of ranks and ordinances of juriſdiction conſecrating political law, for the good of

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"* Here, as in all human affairs, what is leaſt perfect, is found to involve extremes. In deſpotic governments, under which obedience muſt be blind and implicit, as in the caſe of children in infancy, and before they grow up, it is to be feared that the minds of the people may become debaſed by an abject ſubjection; and that the prince may forget that he is the father of his ſubjects, ſeeing that the diſtance ſeparating them is immenſe, and that his ſenſe of religious obligation oppoſes but a feeble check to his paſſions. At the other extremity of the ſocial chain, democracy is, in general, the very worſt form of government, becauſe the paſſions which are too much reſtrained in a deſpotic government, are here, in a ſtate of fermentation, raging with ungovernable fury. A multitude of wills of equal efficacy, and ſovereign in power, are admitted, in the formation of a law; and by this very means, the wiſe object which nature had in view by the eſtabliſhment of a natural inequality between mankind, is, in ſome meaſure, defeated. Democracy is every where an abſurdity, except in the caſe of a people, of ſmall weight in the political ſcale, among whom, properly ſpeaking, it is but a reunion of the different authorities of the heads of families."

ſociety,

ſociety, and that ſcale of inequalities always terminating in the ſupreme authority, are conformable to nature, and nature is the model after which God has been pleaſed that human inſtitutions ſhould be faſhioned. How, then, has it been ſuppoſed that every thing moſt excellent in political order, that is to ſay, an authority where deciſion in all appeals is final, is not to be found in the organization of natural order? How happens it not to have been perceived, that in the ſtate of nature, as in the political ſtate, mankind could not enjoy their reſpective rights, their liberty, and their property, but from the exiſtence of this authority, and that God has actually eſtabliſhed it? He prolonged for centuries, the lives of the patriarchs of old, in order that the *political* government which united the different families, might be *naturally* eſtabliſhed, without any violent commotions. To confer on the chiefs of the riſing ſociety a more venerable and reſpectable character, he made them the depoſitaries of his holy religion. He joined, and lodged in their hands, the eccleſiaſtical and ſovereign powers; and he united the religious, and the natural and political authorities. All theſe truths are founded on nature alone, and are, therefore, evident, even ſuppoſing for a moment, that we are as little acquainted with the hiſtory of the early ages, as the heathens whoſe accounts are involved in fabulous obſcurity. But their confirmation admits not of a doubt, when we find facts corroborating our ideas, and when we perceive political governments *properly ſo called*, formed, originally, within, and ſpringing immediately from the government of nature."

Theſe are the aſſumptions and deductions on which he endeavours to eſtabliſh the doctrine of *non-reſiſtance and paſſive obedience, of the divine indefeaſible rights of ſovereigns, that they are accountable to God, and to him only, for their conduct, and that their ſubjects have no right to examine or diſcuſs it, and much leſs to oppoſe or reſiſt it; and ſo forth.*

He aſſerts that, at the formation of the world, God conferred authority on one man over his kind. This aſſertion, however, is not ſupported by revelation. God did not beſtow on Adam, even in a ſtate of innocence, an abſolute authority or controul over thoſe that ſhould deſcend from him, or even over Eve herſelf. For Moſes tells us, that he created man male and female, and gave *them* dominion over the fiſh of the ſea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moved on the face of the earth. Their dominion or authority, then, appears to have been originally joint and equal; and it was not till after the fall that God informed Eve, that her deſire ſhould be to her huſband, and that he ſhould rule over her. Her ſubordination, then, ſeems to have been part of the puniſhment annexed to her diſobedience. But we are no where told, that Adam ſhould rule over their deſcendants, or that any command or authority was given him for that purpoſe. That it was not the intention of the Supreme Being that he ſhould, is manifeſt from this circumſtance, that his offspring ſoon ſeparated themſelves from him, and became totally independent of him, thinking and acting for themſelves: and as their offspring again began to multiply, they became ſo completely ſeparated, that ſome of them went by one denomination, and ſome by another; for we are told, that when men began to multiply on the face

of

of the earth, and daughters were born unto them, the ſons of God ſaw the daughters of men that they were fair, and took them wives of all which they choſe.

Even before the fall, however, our firſt parents were commanded to be fruitful and multiply. For fulfilling that commandment, an union between the ſexes was neceſſary. The very nature of man then pointed out, and led to ſuch an union, even in a ſtate of innocence. Without it, the human race would ſoon become extinct. From it proceed families, and family governments. But every connexion between the ſexes that is not the reſult of violence, whether it be of a tranſient or temporary nature, or laſting and for life, is founded on conſent, agreement, or compact. It matters not as to this queſtion, what the ceremony is by which they are united, or whether any be made uſe of at all. The union itſelf muſt ariſe from conſent, agreement, or compact. Family ſociety, which was certainly the firſt form of human aſſociations, and family government, then, originated in connexions founded on the conſent and agreement of thoſe who entered into them, and pointed out to them by the law of nature. Every marriage, and even every agreement between a man and a woman to live together for a longer or ſhorter ſpace of time, is a ſort of compact. All family ſociety, therefore, was, and is founded on conſent or compact.

Parents naturally have, and muſt have, authority and controul over their children in their infancy. This is abſolutely neceſſary for their preſervation in their helpleſs ſtate, and for their growing up to maturity. But when they reach the age of reaſon and diſcretion, and are capable of acting for themſelves, and forming families of their own, they are by the law of nature emancipated from that authority, and are no longer under it but by their own conſent. This is exactly the caſe with the ſavages in America, moſt of whom are in a much ſimpler ſtate of ſociety than that of the patriarchs. They learn as they grow up the means and arts of ſubſiſtence employed and practiſed by their parents: but when they are capable of marrying and acting for themſelves, they are under no reſtraint whatever from parental authority, but go whitherſoever their inclinations lead them, in ſearch of ſubſiſtence for their own families. The deſire of life and ſelf-preſervation, which is the firſt or primary deſire of nature, on which our deſire of happineſs, as well as every other deſire, is grafted, compels them to ſeparate and do ſo; for, according to their mode of life, many of them in a body could not find ſubſiſtence in one place, or even in ſeveral near and adjoining places. Their ſeparation, therefore, is dictated by the law of nature itſelf, which at the ſame time conſtitutes independence and freedom of action, and renders them neceſſary, limiting the period of parental controul to the age of reaſon on the part of the offſpring. The ſame principle or cuſtom prevails among the ſettlers in North America, and regulates the conduct of the parents and children towards one another. The father exerciſes authority over, and claims the ſervices of his ſons till they reach twenty-one years of age, who generally obey and render their ſervices to him till

they arrive at that age, when they conſider themſelves as their own maſters, as emancipated from parental authority and controul, and at perfect liberty to act for themſelves. The ſame is the caſe with the daughters till and after the age of eighteen.

Beſides its being impoſſible for different families aſſembled together in the rude and ſimple ſtages of ſociety, to find ſubſiſtence for any length of time in one place, particularly in the hunting and fiſhing ſtate, ſtrife, diſcord, and diſſention would ſoon ariſe among them. The ſame obſervation holds good with regard to the paſtoral or patriarchal ſtate of ſociety. Theſe conſiderations united induced Abram and Lot, his brother's ſon, after they had gone into Egypt together, lived in it together, and come out of it together, to ſeparate by mutual conſent and agreement, and each take his own tract of country for the ſupport and convenience of his family and flocks: and ſo far was Abram from claiming any controul or ſuperiority over his nephew in the buſineſs, that he left it to Lot to make his own choice. Neither the law of nature, indeed, nor revelation, gives one man a right to rule over another without his own conſent. The patriarchs had their bond-men and bond-women. But the Indians have no idea either of ſervitude or ſlavery: they have their hunting and fiſhing grounds from cuſtom and conſent; and infractions of their reſpective claims to theſe have given riſe to moſt of their diſputes and quarrels. Different independent tribes of them, compoſed each of ſeparate, diſtinct, and independent families, have ſometimes confederated for the purpoſes of ſelf-preſervation and mutual defence. This was the caſe with the Iroquois, or Six Nations, and with others.

As the union of the ſexes formed family-ſocieties, ſo the deſire of ſelf-preſervation and ſecurity gave riſe to political confederations among them; and the legitimate origin of both is conſent, agreement, or compact.

Our author attempts to derive from the family-government, as emanations from God, monarchy, ariſtocracy, and democracy, but takes no notice of ſuch mixed governments as ours, having an irreconcileable diſlike to every thing like compact or election. He does not ſeem to underſtand the nature of civil inſtitutions, or to have a clear idea of the circle in which political ſocieties generally revolve. No pure royalty, ariſtocracy, or democracy can ever laſt long, as each of them tends naturally to that vicious extreme to which it is nearly allied. Thus, royalty has a tendency to degenerate into deſpotiſm; ariſtocracy, into oligarchy and oppreſſion; and democracy, into ſavage violence, and the government of the multitude. It cannot, therefore, be reaſonably ſuppoſed, that they emanated from the Deity; for thoſe governments, in fact, are beſt calculated for duration and the ſecurity of the ſubject, which are partly compoſed of all the three, and have their parts ſo adjuſted, as to be kept by mutual counteraction in their juſt poſitions, and prevented from degenerating into the vicious extremes that are natural to them. Such were the governments of Sparta, Carthage, and Rome, each of which laſted for many ages: and ſuch is the government of this country.

Man,

Man, in an advanced and civilized ſtate of ſociety, is under many reſtraints, that he is not ſubject to in a ſimpler one. Subject to theſe reſtrictions, whether they be naturally of a moral tendency or not, he muſt exerciſe his rights; and he is to look for their limits and boundaries in the laws and regulations of the community he lives in.

A Collection of Songs, Moral, Sentimental, Inſtructive, and Amuſing. The Words ſelected and reviſed, by the Rev. James Plumptre, M. A. Fellow of Clare Hall. *The Muſic adapted and compoſed* by Charles Hague, Muſ Doc. and Profeſſor of Muſic in the Univerſity of Cambridge. Large 8vo. Pp. 200. Price, on common Paper, 12s. on finer Paper, 16s. Cambridge, printed; Rivingtons, London, 1805.

IN a long "Introductory Letter" to Dr. Hague, Mr. Plumptre details the motives which led him to make this Collection of Songs; and thoſe motives are certainly honourable to his feelings, and to his principles, both as a man, and as a miniſter of the goſpel.

"As the clergyman of a pariſh, I muſt own it is not a matter of indifference to me, what ſongs are ſung at the feſtive meetings. I know from experience the effect which ſinging has upon a company of perſons, even of education, and of a ſerious turn; what muſt it then be upon perſons of no education, guided almoſt entirely by paſſion and example? Were a clergyman to preach, with the energy and eloquence of a Horne, or a Jones, againſt the ſin of drunkenneſs, if the ſong, the following evening, aided by liquor and company, were to be, "True Joy is drinking," or "All get drunk if you wiſh to be happy," it would, I fear, go far, very far, to do away any good impreſſions which the ſermon might have left.

"I wiſh, therefore, Sir, that you would furniſh us with a Collection of Songs for ſuch occaſions, which ſhall be at once cheerful, inſtructive, and innocent. Such are, no doubt, to be found; though I fear they are not ſo numerous as might be wiſhed and expected. Our ſingle ſongs being many of them drinking, hunting, or ſailors' ſongs filled with oaths, or love ſongs full of impiety and nonſenſe; and thoſe of our operas often being upon the ſame ſubjects, and often forming a part of the narrative, or dialogue of the drama, are not fit for ſelecting as independent ſongs; but yet I can point out ſome that I think are unexceptionable, and others which may be made ſo with only a little correcting.

"It is ſaid of our countrymen, that they will not ſing till they are half drunk; and, indeed, ſuch are the ſongs uſually ſung, that no man in his ſober ſenſes can ſing them; but ſongs of the deſcription I mean might be made a part of an evening's amuſement for company where no drinking was going forward.*

* "Some years ago, at the ſuggeſtion of a friend, I accompanied him to a catch-club of ſome eminence. I had heard much of the delights of ſuch meetings. As ſoon as dinner was over, all the company ſtood up, and *non nobis* was ſung. I wiſh I could always ſee grace ſaid at the tables of even ſerious people with ſo much attention and ſeeming devotion. After this the catches and glees began, and the bottle moved round! the ſinging—I mean the words of the ſongs—growing worſe and worſe, till that which began with *non nobis*, ended like the orgies of Bacchus.

"We are told by St. Paul,—ſtart not, Sir, at my quoting ſuch frequent and ſuch high authorities; the ſubject is of conſequence, and I wiſh to ſupport my own opinions by thoſe of abler, better, and higher authority than my own —St. Paul orders, (Cor. x. 31.) that 'whether we eat or drink, or whatſoever we do, we ſhould 'do all to the glory of God.'— 'Religion, then, is to guide us by its good precepts, and to govern all our actions. Our lives are made up of actions. One action ſucceeds another, and yet in all this courſe of actions, there is hardly one, trifling as we may think it, which has not its faulty extreme, and which we may not make either right or wrong. In ſhort we may turn almoſt every action of our lives into religion, by giving it a religious motive, and acting with a view to pleaſe God.'—'Nothing ſeems to have leſs of a religious caſt about it, than eating and drinking; and yet the text plainly aſſerts, that we may turn eating and drinking to the glory of God—that is, if we eat and drink under ſuch rules of temperance as the Scriptures give us, and *practiſe* theſe rules *with a view to pleaſe God*, we may make even eating and drinking acts of religion.'——(Gilpin's Sermons, Vol. I. Serm. XVI.)

"Thus religion is not only to be brought into the neceſſary buſineſs and concerns of life, but 'it is to be brought into our *pleaſure* alſo, and he, who is really a Chriſtian, muſt be a Chriſtian in his very diverſions.'

"By this criterion, then, let us try ſome of our favourite ſongs, and ſee how they will ſtand the teſt. I do not mean our worſt ſongs; but ſuch as ſome, who paſs for ſober good people, will not be aſhamed to ſing."

Mr. P. then quotes a paſſage from Mrs. More's works, being part of a dialogue "On the Duty of carrying Religion into our Amuſements," in which the lady firſt conſiders that ſpecies of ſongs "of which the words are decent and the principle [is] vicious;" but unfortunately ſhe has ſelected a ſong, as her firſt inſtance, of at leaſt a *doubtful* tendency, and which certainly is one of the worſt which ſhe could have choſen for the ſupport of her argument. We do not recollect all the words of this ſong, but the two lines of it which ſhe quotes in proof of the juſtice of her poſition, are all that we have any occaſion to conſider. Theſe are—

> "Since life is no more than a paſſage at beſt,
> Let us ſtrew the way over with flowers."

It is to the laſt line only that Mrs. More objects, and her objection is founded on the *aſſertion* that it conveys the following meaning; "Your ſong ſays, becauſe life is ſhort, let us make it merry. Let us divert ourſelves ſo much on the road that we may forget the end." Now, to *our* minds, it certainly does not convey any ſuch meaning; nor do we ſee why, becauſe a traveller ſtrews his way with flowers, he muſt of neceſſity loſe ſight of the end (or object) of his journey. In order to prove her caſe Mrs. More ſhould have ſhewn that flowers are ſynonimous with ſinful pleaſures; but this would have been a taſk ſomewhat difficult of performance; and, we ſuſpect, indeed, that in her reſearches for this purpoſe, ſhe would have found that the general uſe and application of the term, or figure, whether in poetry or in proſe, would have ſanctioned an inference almoſt in direct oppoſition to that which ſhe has drawn from it in the preſent inſtance. We do not *recollect* a ſingle inſtance in which '*flowers*' have been uſed in a bad

bad or doubtful ſenſe, by any writer of authority—though we do not mean to aſſert that they may not have been ſo uſed; but it is ſufficient for the ſupport of *our* objection, that their general application, and their obvious meaning too, are of an oppoſite nature; nor does the preceding line of the ſong juſtify the ſuppoſition that the writer himſelf employed the word in the ſenſe here affixed to it. In our apprehenſion the flowers of life can only with propriety be conſidered as thoſe innocent and rational enjoyments and recreations which are entirely compatible with, and, indeed, frequently ariſe out of, a conſcientious diſcharge of our duty. Of religion, we are told, "her ways are ways of *pleaſantneſs*," and what can contribute more to the pleaſantneſs of a way than to ſtrew it over with flowers? It will not be denied, that truth and wiſdom may go hand in hand, and where the former quits the latter for a different companion, ſhe will find her way ſtrewed not with *flowers* but with *thorns*. We have ſaid thus much on a ſubject (on which much more *might be* ſaid) becauſe we think that the objection of Mrs. More to the lines in queſtion is faſtidious and hypercritical, and therefore injurious to the general tenour of her argument, which is laudable and good; and alſo becauſe it has a *tendency* to caſt a gloom about religion, which, unqueſtionably, does not belong to her, and which is highly injurious to her cauſe. The other inſtances adduced by her are appoſite and forcible; and with her concluding reflection it is impoſſible not to concur.

"Such ſongs, therefore, as tend to promote levity, thoughtleſſneſs, looſe imaginations, falſe views of life, forgetfulneſs of death, contempt of whatever is ſerious, and neglect of whatever is ſober, whether they be love-ſongs, or drinking-ſongs, will not, cannot be ſung by any man or any woman who makes a ſerious pro eſſion of Chriſtianity."

It is a truth, and one highly diſgraceful to the age in which we live, that ſongs of this deſcription are thoſe which are the moſt generally ſung. Hundreds of them might be pointed out, but the taſk is too diſguſtful, nor would it be proper to perform it. But we cannot omit this opportunity of reprobating, in the ſtrongeſt terms, one of the moſt popular ſongs of the preſent day. The *ſtory* of it is the ſeduction of a young lady by a military officer, which leads her to commit an act of Suicide; her *ghoſt* then appears to her ſeducer; a dialogue enſues, in which *ſhe* informs him, that the parſon would not bury her on account of her *frailty*, and aſks him for money to *bribe* the ſexton; he gives her money, and, in concluſion, ſhe ſteals his *breeches*. This ſtory is told in the moſt ludicrous manner; and the ſong, introduced in one of our new farces, is heightened by that ſpecies of buffoonery which our modern actors ſeem to think the ne plus ultra of the hiſtrionic art, and contributes ſo highly to the *amuſement* and *inſtruction* of the audience, *women and girls* as well as men and *boys*, that they never fail to beſtow on it the moſt unbounded applauſe, and to call loudly for its repetition. Now let any ſerious, ſober, Chriſtian reflect, but for a moment, on the tendency of ſuch a ſong; not only in familiarizing young minds with ſcenes of profligacy and vice, which can-

not be too carefully ſcreened from their view; but in teaching them to conſider as an object of indifference, nay of *mirth*, a crime, a ſin which they ought ever to regard with abhorrence and diſguſt. Sorry are we to add, that we have heard—though, we hope, it is not true—that this beaſtly ſong which violates all decency, virtue, and religion, and which has neither ſenſe, wit, nor humour to recommend it, has been thought a fit ſubject for tranſlation into a dead language, by a clergyman of the Church of England—*Horreſco referens!*—and is actually ſung in the *polite* circles, as they are termed, as well as by the middle and lower claſſes of ſociety. We truſt, however, that the Lord Chamberlain, a nobleman, leſs diſtinguiſhed by his rank than by his virtues, leſs honoured by his elevated ſituation, than by his regular diſcharge of every religious and moral duty, will interpoſe his authority ſo far as to prevent its introduction, henceforth, on the ſtage. How a *woman* who has any pretenſions to virtue, or even modeſty, can ſit patiently to hear ſuch vile ribaldry, it is difficult to conceive; what, then, muſt be thought of thoſe women who not only ſit patiently to *hear* it, but who openly *enjoy* it, and publicly expreſs their *approbation* of it? No one can be ignorant of the effect even of the mere *contemplation* of vice; the conſequence of viewing it with *approbation*, then, may eaſily be anticipated; from *applauſe* to *imitation* the progreſs is eaſy and natural; and when *ſeduction and ſuicide* have become objects of *mirth* to the thoughtleſs and the gay, it is no wonder that *proſtitution* and *adultery* ſhould be openly courted and ſanctioned by the great and the proud, or that they ſhould be allowed to ſtare decency and virtue out of countenance. Having ſhewn what ſongs are *improper*, Mr. P. next proceeds to point out what are *proper*.

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After ſhewing how heatheniſm has gained the aſcendancy in the ornaments even of our churches, in gardens, our places of public amuſement, in the ſciences, in politics, in morality, he proceeds,

"But in poetry the ſervility of Chriſtians is moſt notorious of all. Here they follow as implicitly as if the heathen muſes had deprived them of their wits. If any machinery is to be introduced, it muſt all be according to the heathen model, by a law as invariable as that of the Medes and Perſians. But it ſhonld be conſidered, that when a heathen poet made uſe of his divine machinery, he only ſpoke to be believed, introducing ſuch powers into his verſe as he profeſſed to worſhip in proſe. After he had been offering ſacrifices in the temple of Minerva, it was natural for him to bring her in to the aſſiſtance of his hero; but when a Chriſtian moraliſt does the ſame, propoſing a pattern of virtue on the heathen plan for the purpoſes of education, he goes out of his way to adopt what he knows to be abſurd in itſelf as it is contrary to his profeſſion. If there is a natural oppoſition between truth and falſhood, we are now as irrational in betraying a partiality to the profane objects of heathenifm, as the heathens themſelves would have been, had they ſhewn the like regard to the ſacred objects of the Bible; only with this difference, that they would have taken up what was better than their own, whereas we incline to that which is worſe: their choice would have brought them nearer to God, ours brings us nearer to the devil. How ſtrange would it have been, if, while their temples were dedicated to Venus, to Mars, and to Bacchus, their gardens had been adorned with ſtatues of Moſes and Aaron, the walls of their houſes painted with the deſtruction of Sodom, the overthrow of Pharoah, the delivery of the two tables at Mount Sinai, and ſuch like ſubjects of ſacred hiſtory! Who would not have inferred in ſuch a caſe, that their temples were frequented out of form, while their inclinations were toward the law of Moſes, and the god of the Hebrews? The heathen prieſts would never have been ſilent on ſuch an occaſion: they would have exclaimed againſt this double-faced diſaffection, and have given the alarm againſt all that were guilty of it, as perſons ready to apoſtatize from the religion of their anceſtors. But, alas! no heathens were ever found to be thus inconſiſtent: they were faithful to their profeſſion, and with one mind abominated every thing that was Jewiſh, for the relation it bore to the Jewiſh worſhip; always railing againſt their nation as low and contemptible, and their religion as fooliſh and ſuperſtitious. We alſo ſhould be as ſincere in our profeſſion as they were in theirs, and expreſs our averſion againſt folly and profaneneſs wherever they occur, unleſs our intellects were vitiated with falſe wiſdom from the common forms of education. To take little things for great, and great things for little, is the worſt misfortune that can befal the human underſtanding. The machinery of heatheniſm appears great to ſcholars, becauſe it has been deſcribed by great wits of antiquity with great words and muſical verſes; and being offered very early to the mind at ſchool, there is a natural prepoſſeſſion in favour of it. But is there really any thing great in the character of Æolus ſhutting up the winds in a den? In Vulcan, the blackſmith, hammering thunderbolts with his one-eyed journeymen? In Neptune, a man living under water like a fiſh, and flouriſhing a pitchfork to ſtill the raging of the ſea? If theſe things are taken literally, according to that poetical character in which the ancient writers uſed them, and in which only they are adopted by the moderns, they are ſo mean and ridiculous, that when the heathens were preſſed with them after the commencement of the goſpel, they could find no way of upholding their dignity, but by reſolving them into their phyſical character; that is, by accommodating them to the powers and operations of nature, to which they alluded with a ſort of myſtical reſemblance."

To theſe truly admirable reflections of that ſound politician and divine, the Chriſtian Sage of Nayland's peaceful groves, ſome judicious obſervations of the pious Dr. Watts are ſubjoined, who conceived the happy notion of turning ſome of the beautiful productions of the heatheniſh world to Chriſtian purpoſes; and even of enliſting the licentious Horace into the ſervice of religion. We think the following ſo excellent a ſpecimen of this new mode of *converſion*, that we tranſcribe it with pleaſure. It is a paraphraſe of the two laſt ſtanzas of Ode xxix. Book 3.

"THE BRITISH FISHERMAN.

"Let Spain's proud traders, when the maſt
Bends, groaning, to the ſtormy blaſt,
Run to their beads with wretched plaints,
And vow and bargain with their Saints,
Leſt Turkiſh ſilks or Tyrian wares
Sink in the drowning ſhip,
Or the rich duſt Peru prepares,
Defraud their long-projecting cares,
And add new treaſures to the greedy deep.

"My little ſkiff that ſkims the ſhores,
With half a ſail and two ſhort oars,
Provides me food in gentler waves:
But if they gape in wat'ry graves,
I truſt th' Eternal Pow'r, whoſe hand
Has ſwell'd the ſtorm ſo high,
To waft my boat and me to land,
Or give ſome Angel ſwift command,
To bear the drowning ſailor to the ſky."

"Such," continues Mr. Plumptre, "are my views in this work. In ſuch an undertaking, however, there will be many difficulties to encounter. By profane people, we ſhall be branded as Methodiſts; and by Methodiſts, probably, as profane. And, perhaps, if we can but incur this cenſure, we ſhall not be very far from that happy medium, that [which] is ſo deſirable, but ſo difficult to attain. That we ſhould be ſo fortunate as to hit it exactly, would perhaps be an unreaſonable hope. By ſome we may be charged with trifling. For a Profeſſor of Muſic, and a clergyman, to compile a *Book of Songs* for the lower claſſes, may be thought *infra dignitatem*: but I hope, Sir, I ſhall ever think, to promote the cauſe of *morality* the beſt uſe of *learning* *. 'Abilities of every kind,' ſays Biſhop Horne, 'are never ſo well employed as in the ſervice of him who gave them;' and to 'condeſcend to men of low eſtate,' (Rom. xii. 16.) perhaps requires more true greatneſs of ſoul, than 'minding high things."

Whether he incur cenſure or praiſe, will, we perſuade ourſelves,

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* We recommend this truly Chriſtian ſentiment to the ſerious attention of the tranſlator of "Miſs Bailey," as well as to the author and to the admirers of that vile compound of ſtupidity and vulgarity. REV.

be

be a matter of indifference to this reſpectable clergyman, only as far as it may affect the ſucceſs of his efforts in the cauſe of morality. The conſciouſneſs of diſcharging his duty—the *mens conſcia recti*—will effectually prevent all unmerited attacks, however violent or ſevere, from diſturbing his repoſe, or from damping the ſpirit of his enterprize.

His obſervations upon what we, who are no muſicians, ſhould term the folly or the coxcombry of muſic and ſinging, ſtrike us as juſt and ſenſible.

" Having mentioned the ſubject of ſinging and articulation, I cannot forbear ſaying a few words reſpecting an impoſition, which you great muſicians and ſingers ſometimes practiſe upon us poor creatures, who enjoy only a plain taſte. I muſt own the firſt thing I look for is good words. Every ſong ſhould be a good poem; if not, it is not worth the muſician's trouble of ſetting to muſic. When this poem is obtained, then I am pleaſed to have the force and beauty of it heightened by all the charms of muſic. But if, when this poem is ſet to muſic, the ſinger does not articulate the words, it might as well not have any; the labour of the poet might have been ſpared, and a ſtring of *fal lal las*, and *lira lira liras*, might as well be the words, as the exquiſite poem of The Roſe, by Cowper, or the divine words extracted by Handel for his Meſſiah. So conſtant is this practice, that the words of the ſongs of our oratorios, concerts, and operas, are always printed, for the auditor to accompany the ſinger with his eye. What ſhould we ſay, Sir, of a preacher, who was obliged to print his ſermon, and diſperſe it over the church, that the congregation might be able to make out the ſentences as he delivered them from the pulpit? So much does this contempt of ſenſe grow upon us, that it is a very common thing to ſee in a lady's muſic book, the muſic, and the words of the firſt ſtanza only written out with it, while the remainder of the ſong, which generally contains the eſſence of it, is thrown by as refuſe. Such perſons, I ſhould ſay, have only 'itching ears;' for it is only the ear that can thus be tickled, not the underſtanding that can be delighted and improved. There is this, however, to be ſaid in their defence, that the words of many ſongs are better thus ſuppreſſed: our ſong-weavers only

> ' ——— tie up nonſenſe for a ſong;
> Song, faſhionably fruitleſs! ſuch as ſtrains
> The *fancy*, and unhallow'd *paſſion* fires;
> Chiming her ſaints to Cytherea's fane.'
>
> ' NIGHT THOUGHTS, N. 2."

There are no people who encourage this ſhameful " contempt of ſenſe" ſo much as our ſtage-ſingers, who, almoſt invariably, ſacrifice ſenſe, propriety, and truth, to *ſound*: and, ſtrange to ſay, men of this deſcription, with the ſingle recommendation of a good voice, and ſome knowledge of muſic, without any other qualification whatever, are paid moſt extravagantly, and brought forward as *actors*, when they, every moment, violate probability, and inſult the audience, by the moſt ſcandalous inattention to the common buſineſs of the ſcene, and by an exhibition of the moſt flagrant incapacity for ſuſtaining even the moſt

moſt inferior parts, knowing, in ſhort, nothing but how to ſing a ſong, the very words of which they ſcarcely know how to pronounce, while of the *meaning* of them, they are, not unfrequently, totally ignorant. To ſuch an extravagant pitch is this rage for ſacrificing ſenſe to ſound now carried, that even foreigners, who cannot *ſpeak* the language ſo as to render themſelves intelligible, are ſometimes made to ſupport leading characters in our plays. Strange infatuation! Twenty years ago, the public would not have ſubmitted to ſo groſs an inſult to their underſtanding. But *boys*, *automata*, and *dogs*, are the rage of the preſent day!!! In the name of common ſenſe, if ſuch beings as we have deſcribed muſt be engaged, in compliance with the prevailing taſte, let them not be ſuffered to outrage nature, by ridiculous attempts to perſonate other characters; but let them be employed to ſing in concerts and oratorios, in *propria perſona*, where nothing is expected of them but the diſplay of their muſical powers—the only powers, alas! which they poſſeſs.

An extract from Bloomfield's "Farmer's Boy" is ſubjoined to this letter, which is written in a ſtyle and ſpirit, at leaſt great part of it, which we cannot commend. It, indeed, diſplays one of thoſe *falſe views* of life which Mrs. More ſo juſtly condemns; for the evils which he there deprecates exiſt but in his own imagination.

In a *poſtſcript* the editor enters into a judicious criticiſm of Mr. Dibdin's ſongs, to the generality of which he pays a juſt tribute of applauſe; for no writer, that we know of, has written ſo many ſongs as Mr. D. nor ſongs ſo generally conducive to morality and loyalty. He alſo notices ſome objections which had been made to his undertaking, previous to the publication of his work. The chief of theſe is, the inutility of it, as people will ſtill go on ſinging their old ſongs. This is the plea of indolence, or of cowardice: the ſame objection might be urged againſt every plan of improvement and reform; but, certainly, no one can ſay that the attempt will be uſeleſs, until its utility has been put to the teſt; and ſurely it is worth the trial. Beſides, it is the duty of every man to exert himſelf, to the utmoſt of his ability, in promoting the cauſe of religion and virtue; and if he ſuffer his talent to lie uſeleſs, under the pretext that his endeavours to employ it to advantage will prove fruitleſs, he will, aſſuredly, have much to anſwer for.

It is almoſt ſuperfluous to obſerve, that the Songs here given are free from all objection, on the ſcore of their moral tendency. Though written for the lower claſſes, and conſequently in plain and familiar language, many of the original compoſitions have conſiderable merit. Perhaps ſome objection might be made to Mr. P.'s ſong entitled "Gleaning," as it tends to impreſs the poor with a miſtaken notion, that God has given them the right to glean; whereas the fact is, that they have no right whatever to enter upon the land of another, much leſs to take any thing off it; and that the permiſſion to glean may either be granted or refuſed by the holder of the land, every ear of corn in the field being his property, and his alone. This queſtion, about

about which we ſhould have thought there could exiſt no difference of opinion, has been decided in a Court of Law upon an action of treſpaſs. It is certainly of conſequence that ſuch a miſtake ſhould be corrected; in order that the poor may know, that when they are *allowed* to glean, they are *enjoying a favour*, and not *exerciſing a right*. It is needleſs to point out the bad effects of a miſtake of this nature: they are too obvious to eſcape the moſt ſuperficial obſerver. On the *advantages* of gleaning, to the poor, alſo, we have ſome doubts; we rather incline to think, that their time might be employed more profitably to themſelves, and more beneficially to the public; without even taking into our conſideration the almoſt irreſiſtible temptation to pilfer and ſteal, which it holds out to them. We have only thus briefly touched upon the ſubject, in the perſuaſion that the reſpectable editor of this uſeful volume will take it into his ſerious conſideration. We cannot take our leave of him, without exhorting him to continue his efforts, nor without expreſſing a hope that he will fulfil his intention of ſupplying a farther collection of unexceptionable Songs, for the uſe of the higher claſſes of ſociety. In the performance of this taſk, we are convinced that he will find leſs difficulty, than in the execution of that which he has already completed.

Important Diſcoveries and Experiments elucidated on Ice, Heat, and Cold. By the Rev. James Hall, A. M. Jordan and Maxwell. 8vo. Pp. 74.

THIS pamphlet contains curious and important diſcoveries reſpecting the formation and durability of ice, and the practical purpoſes to which theſe may be applied. It appears from due enquiry and experiment—

"That all the ice in the ocean is compoſed of freſh and the pureſt water. Ice, beſides purifying the atmoſphere, and conſequently preventing diſeaſes is abſolutely neceſſary to the production of many, if not all the moſt valuable tribes of fiſhes. It is a fact, though not generally known, that ice, if excluded from the open air, will keep for ages. And that, though ever ſo old, upon being expoſed to the open air will produce as pure, ſoft, and wholeſome water as the day it was congealed. And this will appear, if we conſider air either in the act of freezing or cauſing evaporation and exhalations to aſcend [to aſcend might have been omitted.] That the air which is capable of being highly condenſed, as well as rareſied by an inherent power of its own, in the act of evaporation and exhaling as well as of freezing, rejects all ſaline or noxious particles in the firſt place, and attracts to it all the pureſt particles of water. Hence though rain riſes from the ſea, the ſhowers are never ſalt nor the ſea leſs: for water falling upon the earth forms rivulets; theſe again form rivulets, theſe again rivers, which all run into the ſea. And thus water, after having been carried through the air and purified by it, after having fallen upon the earth and watered it, and performed many important ſervices, returns again to the boſom from whence it was taken, and hence there is probably not one drop

drop more or less of water now, than there was at the creation of the world:"

"With regard to the durability of ice, it is well known that, in Spain, where it is taxed, and pays a considerable revenue to government, ice, by being covered with chaff, straw, reeds, or any thing, is often carried in carts at noon, under a burning sun, from cellar to cellar, from city to city, as any other commodity for hundreds of miles, without losing any of its weight; or even a single drop falling from it. At Constantinople too, Arabia and other parts of the East, nothing is more common than ice being sold in the market; which, having been brought from the mountains in flannel bags, generally by poor people upon asses, often continues whole days under a burning sun without even the bags that contain it being moist; the whole of their art in preserving it consisting in keeping the mouths of the bags shut as much as possible.

"Need I, as a proof of the durability of ice, mention that, near two hundred years ago, it was carried from Europe to the kingdoms of Pegu and Siam, in the East, to convince the great men there that water, by the action of the air is often turned into a body so solid that men, horses, carts, coaches and cannon may be all, at the same time, seen running on its surface? Need I shew that logs and planks of wood, after they have been for weeks at Jamaica and months in the torrid zone, have been found frozen and sticking together? But, to one who reflects, there is no mistery in this. These having been frozen together, in the holds of the ships, before they left the shores of America; and other logs and planks happening to have been laid upon them in that state, this circumstance prevented the open air from affecting them, when they came to warm latitudes; and, it is probable they would, at least in the lower part of the ship, have continued sticking together for years, even in that warm climate, had not the logs and planks above been removed; and, consequently, a circulation of warm air admitted. The truth is, if you exclude the open air from ice; or any thing impregnated with it, even by so thin a body as gauze-paper, if not porous, the ice or frozen object will continue in that state for a long time; perhaps for years. It is the nature of cold to continue; and, by diffusing its qualities around, never to yield or retire, till heat, its enemy and opposite, come immediately in contact with it; or by superior force oblige it to yield. Keep heat; or which is the same thing, the open air, which communicates it, even at a hair breadth's distance; and cold will keep her place. Put hay, straw, a cloth, or any thing on ice, even in the open field; and when all the ice around has disappeared, that under the covering will remain. And why? It is not because there is no heat near it? No, the heat was above, below and round about it; but because the covering prevented the open air, to a certain degree, from coming in contact with it. And this ice, when minutely examined, as well as that on the moutains of Siberia, the top of the Alps; or Terra del Fuego, however old, is, and *must* from the very nature and essence of cold inherent in it, always be found as fresh and good, and possessing the very same qualities as the day it was congealed.

"It is beyond a doubt that Canada in America, is much colder in winter than some of the finest provinces in England and France, with which it is equal in latitude. The reason is obvious. The immense forests there prevent the sun from exhaling the snow and ice lodged under them so soon and effectually as otherwise he would. And this ice and snow, like the vast

vaſt heaps of frozen materials, which are ſometimes driven from the frozen ocean, on the coaſts of Iceland, &c. ſhed their influence to a conſiderable diſtance beyond the ſpace they occupy. In thoſe parts of Germany, Denmark, Norway, &c. where there are large foreſts; they know almoſt to a day, when the ſun will acquire ſuch heat and force as will enable him to overcome the ice and ſnow lodged under them, during the winter; and which, till he gathers ſtrength and riſes majeſtic in the horizon, lie concealed and ſecure, deſpiſing his attacks. Why is Germany, Hungary, Poland, &c. warmer now than in the days of the ancient Romans? The anſwer is plain; many thouſand acres, having been cleared of the wood that then covered the country, the ſun has it more in his power in the ſpring to warm and cheriſh the face of the ground. The Hyrcinian Foreſt, mentioned by Cæſar and the Roman authors, covered a great part of Germany, Poland, and Hungary; and ſo extenſive was it, that though ſome of the moſt inteiligent inhabitants had travelled through it for ſixty days ſucceſſively, they were able to give but a very imperfect account of its dimenſions. Bring back the Hyrcinian Foreſt, and you will make thoſe parts of Europe, of the ſame latitude, as cold and dreary in winter as Canada; which, at preſent, is not the caſe. Clear away the woods from Canada, excepting clumps, patches, and hedge-rows, which do not obſtruct the rays of the ſun, and you will make the winters there as ſhort and equally pleaſant as in ſome of the fineſt kingdoms in Europe.

"Why are the Germans, Scots, Iriſh, &c. who languiſh under the burning ſuns of Italy and the South, though tolerably ſo at preſent, yet now not ſo brawny, ſtrong, and athletic as in the days of Julius Cæſar? One cauſe, among many is, their immenſe foreſts are in a great meaſure gone; and conſequently, the ſteady bracing air of winter, neceſſarily ariſing from the ſnow, which generally lodged in theſe from the time it fell, or was blown into them, till March or April, and this circumſtance partly accounts for the population of Europe not keeping pace with the removal of the woods. Europe, by having almoſt got clear of the Hyrcinian and other immenſe foreſts, is, no doubt, warmer than it was before this took place, and in this point of view bettered; but the gradual removal of the woods, and conſequent increaſe of heat, has not brought ſuch a gradual increaſe of population as at firſt view one would be led to expect; for though heat may ſtimulate to propagate the ſpecies, and the woods cleared make room for them, yet cold, to a certain degree, is and has always been found favourable to health, vigour, and fecundity."

Mr. Hall having ſhewn that ice, which is the offſpring of cold, is always compoſed of the pureſt water, will on being properly covered keep for ages, and however old on being expoſed to the open air, on a little hot water being put into a veſſel containing it, produce as good and wholeſome water, as the day when it was congealed, proceeds to enquire into the uſes pointed out by this part of the œconomy of nature—

"In latitudes where plenty of ice is to be found, where is the propriety of ſhips coming ſo often into harbour for water, when ice hoiſted at any time will ſerve the purpoſe much better, be attended with leſs trouble and expence, and be found leſs cumberſome either on ſhips of war or merchantmen? In the tractleſs paths of the ocean, where no freſh water is

is to be found, ice may be uſed for quenching thirſt, invigorating exhauſted ſtrength, and enlivening drooping ſpirits. The durability and other qualities of ice, is not of more importance to ſea-faring people than to thoſe who dwell upon land. As the winter, or rather Providence generally gives ice enough for ever, in Italy itſelf ice is often to be found in the morning, might not cellars or repoſitories be dug, like ice-houſes and filled with ice in winter, to ſupply the want of water in ſummer? Another, and no leſs important uſe of ice is that of preſerving proviſions in hot and ſultry weather. What utility in the midſt of ſummer might not be derived from a ſtock of ice both at ſea and land, in preſerving meat, &c. freſh, and in preventing the produce of the dairy from becoming rancid? What benefit would it be to the farmer to be able to cool the atmoſpere of his dairy, by throwing in quantities of ice, and how eaſily would he convey it, in a perfect ſtate, to a greater diſtance, by packing it up in frozen water; a circumſtance, which in this age of improvement and learning, cannot in all probability be long over looked. One of the greateſt comforts of the Ruſſian Empire is the facility of preſerving a great quantity of ice in ice-houſes or cellars, during the whole ſummer not a ſingle family in the cities and villages is without ſuch a convenience; which ſerves not merely for cooling liquor at table, but principally for preſerving *beer, ale,* and all ſorts of freſh proviſions in the ſummer ſeaſon."

Mr. Hall very judiciouſly obſerves that the example of Ruſſia, and other northern parts, might with the utmoſt eaſe, and ought to be imitated in this country. There are many ſmall families living at a diſtance from market towns, and who are of courſe obliged to kill their own meat, to whom it would be of ſingular utility and advantage.

Mr. Hall diſcovers not a little knowledge of natural hiſtory. He is an ingenious and judicious obſerver; and throughout the whole of his tract diſcerns the hand of Providence: ſo that, it is among the number of thoſe that are or may be called PHYSICO-THEOLOGICAL.

An Eſſay on the Spirit and Influence of the Reformation of Luther—The Work which obtained the Prize on the Queſtion, propoſed in 1802 *by the National Inſtitute of France, "What has been the Influence of the Reformation of Luther on the Political Situation of the different States of Europe, and on the Progreſs of Knowledge." With a Sketch of the Hiſtory of the Church, from its Founder to the Reformation: intended as an Appendix to the Work.* By Charles Villers. Tranſlated, and illuſtrated with copious Notes, by James Mill, Eſq. 8vo. PP. 490. 9s. C. and R. Baldwin. 1805.

WE are obliged, at the outſet of our examination, to differ from the tranſlator of this work. We cannot, as he does, attribute the propoſal of the queſtion, and the approbation of the Eſſay, *ſolely* to "the extraordinary progreſs of reaſon and liberality." We are afraid that the doctrine of perfectibility has not as yet produced all its effects, even in the enlightened National Inſtitute; that a portion of

of human imperfection ſtill remains; and that, if we attribute its approbation of the Eſſay to a *mixed* motive, we do no injuſtice. It is notorious that Buonaparté has done in France what the Reformation of Luther effected in other parts of Europe. The claims held forth by the Pope could never be ſubmitted to by a man who would bear no brother near the throne: he therefore *annihilated* in that kingdom the influence of the Pope and Court of Rome. How pleaſing, then, muſt it have been to Buonaparté, to find that a production had been approved of, and rewarded by *his* Inſtitute, which demonſtrated that an act ſimilar to his own had been highly advantageous to ſociety; and ſurely not leſs pleaſing to the members of the Inſtitute, to have found a happy opportunity of blending, in the moſt fraternal union, the wiſhes of the deſpot with their own extraordinary reaſon and liberality.

Neither can we agree with the tranſlator in thinking, that the queſtion originated with men of the popiſh perſuaſion; becauſe we have good reaſon to believe, that it would be no eaſy matter to rank the majority of the National Inſtitute under any denomination of Chriſtians. Mr. Villers, with proper caution, ſtiles them "an aſſembly of philoſophers." There is, therefore, a fallacy in the ſtatement of Mr. Mill, when he ſays, that "the votaries of popery [the National Inſtitute] by giving the prize to Mr. Villers' Eſſay, declare to the whole world, that this rebellion [the Reformation] was beneficial to the human race." No: it was not the votaries of popery, but an aſſembly of men, who cared not for popery, or the Pope, who, by beſtowing the prize, may be ſaid to have made this declaration. A true child of Mother Church would have conſidered the act as matricide.

We aſk pardon of the author, for having paid our firſt attention to the tranſlator; but as the ſubject was a ſort of prefatory matter, we hope that will plead our excuſe. We proceed now to examine how Mr. Villers has treated the queſtion propoſed by the French Inſtitute.

He divides his ſubject into two parts. In the firſt, after having clearly ſtated the queſtion he is about to diſcuſs, he ſpeaks of the nature of reformations in general, and of that of Luther in particular. He then gives a ſketch of the ſtate of politics, religion, and literature at the commencement of the 16th century, and concludes with conjectures of what would have been the probable ſtate of Europe for ſeveral ages, had not the Reformation taken place.

In the ſecond part, he enters into a more minute detail. He examines the *internal* ſtate of all the principal European powers, as well as their *external*, that is, their relative ſtate with reſpect to each other; and points out the influence which the Reformation had upon each, and upon the whole. The reſult of this critical inveſtigation is, that the Reformation has been advantageous to man, whether we conſider him as an intellectual, political, or moral being. This, we think, he proves by facts and reaſoning, in the moſt clear and ſatisfactory manner. To give a full account of the various topics which come under the

the inveſtigation of the author would lead us far beyond the limits of a Review: for this we muſt refer our readers to the work itſelf, and content ourſelves with inſerting a few of his general concluſions, as a ſpecimen of the author's manner.

"*Effects of the moral Impulſe communicated by the Reformation.*— By what has been already advanced in ſeveral parts of this diſcourſe, concerning the nature of the Reformation; the direction of its moral impulſe, and the objects to which it extended, may be eaſily conjectured. The intention of the reformers was, in the beginning, to emancipate themſelves from the deſpotiſm and infallability of the Pope; to depend upon the ſacred books alone for the foundation of their faith; and to overturn the ſcholaſtic doctrine which had become the ſoul, as it were, of the Romiſh theology, and a powerful ſupport of the hierarchy. Hence it follows, that the Reformation, from its very nature, muſt have affected the liberty of thinking, ſo precious to man, and the baſis of his political liberty; his manner of viewing religion and eſtabliſhing its proofs, and his manner of interpreting Scripture; and, in the third place, it muſt have affected philoſophy, and all the ramifications of the tree of knowledge, which proceed from any of thoſe three main branches. Order and perſpicuity require that we ſhould treat of each of theſe articles ſeparately.

"*In regard to the liberty of thought.*—I ſhould conſider myſelf as violating that reſpect which I owe to my judges, and to the enlightened part of the public, if I allowed myſelf to run into a long enumeration of the advantages which the human mind has derived from the unlimited power of exerciſing freely its faculties. Let us only reflect upon the immenſe apparatus of cenſures, of prohibitions, and of inquiſitors which the Romiſh church employed to keep all eyes ſhut, at a time when every new opinion was a hereſy, that is, a crime worthy of the direſt puniſhment, and againſt which all the rigour of the ſecular arm was required, and we ſhall ſhudder at the danger to which the human ſpecies was expoſed before the ſixteenth century. Had not the mind, by the happieſt and moſt extraordinary concurrence of favourable circumſtances obtained, in rapid ſucceſſion, new aids, and freſh fuel to its activity, what would have become of that feeble ſpark of light, which began to ſhine, under the ſyſtem of extinguiſhment and *obſcuration* adopted by the court of Rome? Had not the Greeks of Conſtantinople emigrated towards the weſt; had not Copernicus in the heavens, and Columbus on the earth, extended the boundaries of knowledge; and the art of printing and the reformation of religion proceeded from the boſom of laborious Germany; had not the coloſſal power which bound the conſciences and oppreſſed the minds of men received ſo many ſhocks in rapid ſucceſſion, for how many ages might not the culture of the human mind, and the improvement of the political condition of man, have been retarded! Let us put the queſtion to the ſouthern parts of Germany, to the people of the Two Sicilies, of Spain, and of Ireland. Let any impartial obſerver, after having fairly aſcertained the ſtate of knowledge in thoſe countries, make himſelf acquainted with the degree in which it exiſts in Switzerland, in the two Saxonies, in Holland, and England; the contraſt cannot eſcape him. It is not aſſerted that in the Catholic countries above-named ſuperior men, perſons on a level with the moſt elevated of their age, are not to be found; but they are rare; and only the maſſes of the people in

different countries ought to be compared. True it is that in the close connexion in which the different nations of our little Europe live together, it is impossible that the knowledge existing in one country should not in some degree penetrate into the others. The wall of separation cannot be so raised, cannot be so vigilantly guarded, as to prevent individuals in all from communicating with one another. But undoubtedly on the part of the Catholics no precautions have hitherto been neglected to ward off, as a dangerous disease, the liberal ideas of Protestantism from their boundaries. It was at Rome that the censorship of books was first invented, and the example was religiously followed by the governments devoted to Rome. Leo X. that vaunted protector of the arts, issued, in 1515, severe restrictions against printing and publishing any books translated from the Greek, Hebrew, or Arabic. At the same period that, five years afterwards, he fulminated against the Reformation that famous bull which begun; "*Exsurge, Deus, judica causam tuam,*" (Arise, O God, judge thy own cause,) in which Luther and his adherents were attacked with the most terrible anathemas, and in which all men were prohibited indiscriminately from reading any of their books whatsoever, and on what subject soever they might treat; at that very moment, I say, this pontiff did not blush to publish, in the name of Jesus Christ, a bull in favour of the profane poems of Ariosto, threatening with excommunication those who should find fault with them, or obstruct their sale. What was to be expected from such a spirit as this, from such an abuse of things, violently converted into things sacred, nay thrust into the place of the very oracles of heaven itself! France, the most enlightened of all the Catholic countries, more enlightened than several Protestant countries, and in which popery never reigned with unlimited sway, in spite of all its efforts to confirm its hold and to introduce the inquisition—France itself, in which even a species of half reform existed, under the title of Gallican liberties, was not entirely exempted from that system of extinguishment. In Spain, in Italy, and Austria, the prohibitions and censures went much farther; and in those countries still impose many shackles on the liberty of writing and thinking. Several of the governments in the south of Germany renew from time to time those salutary regulations against the reading of books written by *heretics*, or bold speculators."

"The maxim of the middle ages is yet preserved in those countries in all the vigour in which it is possible to preserve it in the present times; "to retain the minds of men on certain subjects in complete stupidity; to keep them as much as possible empty, that they may be afterwards filled with any thing which is found agreeable, and that superstition may find a convenient reception." Has any pope as yet retracted the bull, *In cœna Domini*, by which were excommunicated all persons who should read any books composed by heretics? Father Paul, mentioning the first index of prohibited books which was published at Rome in 1559, says among other things: 'That, under pretext of religion, the pope in this consigned to excommunication the authors of works in which only the authority of princes and magistrates was supported against the usurpation of ecclesiastics. Besides this, the Romish inquisitors prohibited in the mass all books printed by sixty-two printers, which they denounced without any regard to their contents; adding further, a general prohibition to read any book issuing from the press of a printer who but once in his life had printed any thing

produced

produced by an heretic. By this means, ſays the hiſtorian, nothing was left to read. Never was a better ſecret found to benumb and corrupt men by religion.' (Hiſtory of the Council of Trent, B. 6.)

"The Reformation broke all thoſe ſhackles impoſed upon the human mind, and overthrew all the barriers erected againſt the free communication of thought. Within its boundaries nothing remained forbidden except productions offenſive to modeſty and public morals. By recalling the memory of thoſe ſhackles and barriers, by conſidering the long continuance of barbarity which they might ſtill have maintained upon the earth, have we not ſufficiently proved how much the Reformation has contributed to the progreſs and to the diffuſion of knowledge? As ſoon, indeed, as by its means the path was opened, men proceeded boldly and publicly to diſcuſs the beſt intereſts of human kind, and to ſpeak like men of things pertaining unto men."

"I will refrain myſelf from adding any thing more, and from falling into vague declamation on this ſubject. It is ſufficient to reflect a ſingle moment on the immenſe difference between thoſe two principles adopted reſpectively by the two parties as the baſis of moral culture: on the one ſide, *believe!* on the other, *examine!* Every thing, it is evident, muſt of neceſſity aſſume a different aſpect under the ſupreme authority of thoſe two oppoſite principles. The principle of examination calls forth light, of which it is the friend, as that of blind ſubmiſſion is the promoter of darkneſs. And who can calculate the immenſe extent of the influence of a fundamental principle, admitted as the baſis of religious, and by conſequence of moral inſtruction, in a nation? The man who is free in the inmoſt ſanctuary of his ſoul looks freely and boldly around him. He becomes enterpriſing, active, and diſpoſed for every thing that is great and uſeful. He who is a ſlave in his conſcience, in the very centre of his being, is, without knowing that he is ſo, a ſlave in his whole conduct. He is by birth a ſlave, from the ſtupefaction and apathy which unnerve his faculties."

"The long, multiplied, and deſtructive wars, to which this commotion gave birth, retarded ſome of the effects which naturally would have flowed from it. The moral culture of nations, which was about to take a new flight, made for a ſhort time a retrograde movement. The ſouls of men, however, tempered by misfortune, reſumed their energy, and that immortal ſpirit, which had been awaked, diſplayed all its activity. Long it wandered in the falſe paths of theological controverſy, from which at laſt it returned more alert and vigorous for the conteſt. Meanwhile the neceſſity felt by the different parties of attracting the people, and acquiring popularity, produced the cultivation of the vulgar languages; multiplied in them valuable works; and the French, Engliſh, and German proſe, was faſhioned, poliſhed, and enriched, amidſt the diſputes of ſects, and the ſhock of religious opinions.

"*Conclusion.*—Such are the principal effects which, in my opinion, have flowed from the influence produced on Europe by the Reformation of Luther. In examining the complicated cauſes of all the more conſiderable tranſactions during the lapſe of three centuries, both in the political and literary worlds, it is difficult to eſcape error, not to be deceived with regard to ſome cauſes, and not to loſe ſight of ſome effects. Amid the confuſion of all thoſe embarraſſed trains of things in the politics and intellectual improvement of Europe, the man who tries to diſcover thoſe which are immediately connected with the quarrels in religion, what care ſoever he

employs, incurs the danger of being often deceived. Some of them are connected with the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity itſelf, with the preaching of the alcoran, with chivalry, with the cruſades, the uſe of artillery, the diſcovery of the new world, the revival of letters, the inſtitutions of Peter the firſt, the war of the ſucceſſion, and other great events. Were any one to examine the influence of any of thoſe events, perhaps he would challenge, as belonging to it, ſome of the conſequences which I have aſcribed to the Reformation."

"We are now in better circumſtances than ever to judge of a revolution which happened three hundred years ago. Let us conſider what was before it, what has been after it: let us hear all parties, look around us, obſerve what is now, and judge.

"When, after the long ſleep of the European nations and of their reaſon during the middle ages, we fix our eyes upon the condition of the human ſpecies in that fine part of the world in the fifteenth or the beginning of the ſixteenth century, we behold them awake from their lethargy, riſe, move reſtleſsly in all directions, ſeize inſtruments for their activity, forge new ones, make trial of them, unfold their powers, take poſſeſſion of the field of ſcience, throw off the ſwaddling clothes which embarraſſed them, and enter upon a new epoch. How deciſive events and inventions crowd upon one another during this interval! The fortunate application of the magnet, the teleſcope, printing, the taking of Conſtantinople, the new World, the depreſſion of the great vaſſals of the crown in France, the golden age of poetry and the arts in Italy, the erection of numerous ſchools, the books of the ancients revived, the eſtabliſhment of poſts which facilitated communication, the famous peace of the empire and the imperial chamber, the exorbitant increaſe of the Auſtrian power, which terrified Europe, and obliged it to take arms, Copernicus by whom the celeſtial ſyſtem was reformed, Luther and Loyola, who appeared nearly at the ſame time! It was neceſſary that the criſis ſhould come to an end, and the ſtate of things undergo a change both in the ſtructure of civil ſociety, and in the ſyſtem of human knowledge."

"Every thing was under the neceſſity of changing. The new ſpirit could not exiſt in the ancient forms; a correſpondence, an harmony was neceſſary to be eſtabliſhed between it and things; and as it poſſeſſed all the energy of the morning, the omnipotent power of youth, it operated in all directions with force and efficacy, and every where under the aids of enthuſiaſm.

"Under this point of view then it is that we ought to regard the Reformation; as a neceſſary product of the new age, as a manifeſtation of the new ſpirit. What Dante and Petrarch were in regard to poetry, Michael Angelo and Raphael to the arts of deſign, Bacon and Deſcartes to philoſophy, Copernicus and Galileo to aſtronomy, Columbus and Gama to geography, the ſame was Luther in regard to religion. Thoſe eminent men, the organs of the univerſal ſpirit, expreſſed correctly the thoughts which brooded in the minds of a great number of their contemporaries; and they ſatisfied at once the wants of their age. From their genius as ſoon as the ſpark eſcaped, the flame, ready to appear, broke forth in all directions. What had only been an immature, a vague conception, floating privately in the minds of a multitude of men, became clear and ſteady, made an open appearance, was communicated from intellect to intellect, and an uninterrupted chain united all thinking minds together. Such is the natural pro-

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greſs of that tacit conſpiracy which preſides over all reformations. Thoſe which take place in the dominions of the arts, and in moſt of thoſe of the ſciences, diſconnected with the paſſions and volcanic eruptions of the people, are generally accompanied with peace, and accomplished without coſting tears to humanity. Different was neceſſarily the fate of that produced by Luther. Religion was not then a matter of ſimple opinion, a purely moral being. It had an immenſe corporal organ, which oppreſſed all bodies politic, and had pretenſions to all the thrones, and to all the poſſeſſions in the world. By the very firſt wound which it received the Coloſſus trembled, and the earth was ſhaken by its motion. Princes and nations ran to arms, and gave themſelves up to a terrible conflict; a conflict of opinions and intereſts, the conſequences of which were ſo various, and ſo important."

"It has been my intention to diſguiſe neither the good nor the evil produced by the Reformation. I have only endeavoured to prove, that, after every thing has been compenſated and the final balance ſtruck, the effects of that revolution preſent a ſurplus of good to the human race; and that on the whole it ought to be ranked among thoſe important events which have moſt powerfully contributed to the progreſs of civilization and knowledge, not only in Europe, but in all parts of the earth to which the Europeans have carried their improvement."

From the above extracts the public will be enabled to form ſome judgment of the entertainment and inſtruction to be expected from the peruſal of the work. It has afforded us both; and we warmly recommend it to the attention of our readers. It is not every Proteſtant that is ſufficiently thankful for the bleſſings he now enjoys. Many, indeed the majority, know not from what tyranny, from what ſlavery of mind they have been emancipated by the good ſenſe, the reſolution, and the blood of their anceſtors. They enjoy the preſent ſunſhine and calm, unappriſed, or heedleſs of the tempeſt which diſpelled the clouds, and almoſt regardleſs of thoſe magnanimous ſpirits who withſtood the buffetings of the ſtorm, and purchaſed at the price of their quiet, their fortunes, and their lives, the happineſs of their deſcendants.

As we began with the tranſlator, we conclude our review with one or two ſtrictures on his department in this volume. He has ſubjoined copious notes to the text, ſome of which are illuſtrative and uſeful, ſome might have been ſpared. He appears to be rather an advocate for revolutions, to conſider them as ſalutary political fevers, which clear away obſtructions, and renovate ſociety. This, with ſome caveats and reſtrictions, may be true. He ſeems willing to aſſimilate the French revolution to the Reformation, and to augur from it effects equally beneficial. Of this we have our doubts. He approves of what was done at the Reformation with regard to eccleſiaſtical property, and does not diſapprove of the total confiſcation of it by the radical reformers of France, and, of courſe, cannot diſapprove of their lay confiſcations. Both, according to him, were neceſſary for carrying on the great revolutionary work. Suppoſing general good to have been the object of the frantic revolutioniſts of our neighbour country,

their maxim amounts only to this, "Let us do evil, that good may come:" a maxim which, being once generally known and received, would render the renovating fevers so frequent, and the paroxysms so violent, that few of the patients would at last survive to gratify the tender, benevolent feelings of their philanthropic physicians. Quiet would be banished from the face of the earth; every ridiculous or designing amelioration system-monger would, in a moment, have his army of associates, and mankind would fight apparently, only apparently, for the best of all possible states of society, till no two individuals were left to form the social compact.

Mr. M. in his notes, is a stout champion for Catholic emancipation; but he seems to have made himself acquainted with only one side of the question, and to be in the same situation with some of the Members of our Legislature, who (if we are to trust to the *uncontradicted* information of our newspapers) gloried in their ignorance of the subject, while they supported emancipation with all the powers of their eloquence. He acknowledges, that "the reduction of the power of the Romish church was of the utmost importance to the best interests of humanity;" but alleges, that "this affords no reason whatever for depriving the members of that church of their equal share of the rights and privileges of citizenship." Now, if the reduction of the power of the Romish church was of the utmost importance to the best interests of humanity, surely the granting of all the rights and privileges of citizenship to a decided majority of men, who are the staunch supporters of that power, cannot be considered a wise political arrangement. And it is because they are the staunch supporters of that power, and not because of the irreligious dogmas, that those privileges are withheld. It is dinned into our ears *ad nauseam*, that the absurd and enormous claims of the Church of Rome are now at an end; that the temper of the times, and the state of society, have laid them asleep for ever: and when they were brought forward by a person perfectly master of the controversy, as objections to emancipation, it was thought a sufficient reply, by an orator on the opposite side, to term him sarcastically the *learned* Doctor of the 15th century; implying, that such things indeed had been, but that they had long since ceased to be. A proper response to this petulant orator would have been, to give him the appellation of the *ignorant* declaimer of the 19th century. Innumerable instances might be given that it is the *power*, and not the *claims* of the Church of Rome, which now sleeps. We shall content ourselves with mentioning an instance or two, from the book Mr. M. has translated. The Pope, in 1701, adhering to the principles of the Romish church, viz. that *by it* kings reign, addressed the following brief to the king of France:

"Although we are persuaded that your majesty by no means approves of the attempt, which forms a precedent most pernicious to the Christian commonwealth, raised by Frederick, Marquis of Brandenburg, in presuming publicly to usurp the name of king; an action of a sort contrary to the terms of the apostolic sanctions;—by which action truly the sacred dignity of

of king is assumed by a man not a Catholic, even in contempt of the church: And indeed the Marquis does not scruple to call himself king of that part of Prussia which by ancient right belongs to the order of Teutonic knights: We cannot pass over the affair in silence, that we may not appear wanting in our duty. We require that you will not pay him regal honours, who has too rashly joined himself in the number of those whom the following passage of sacred writ condemns and reprobates; 'They have reigned, but not by me; princes they were, but I have not known them." And in the *Orationes Consistor.* of Clement XI. we see that this pope, in presenting the account of this event, and of his bull, to the college of cardinals, states, "that the Margrave Frederick had arrogated to himself the title of king in an impious manner, and hitherto unexampled among Christians; it being well understood, that, according to the pontifical laws, an heretical prince ought much rather to lose his ancient dignities than obtain new."

We believe to this day the king of Prussia is not acknowledged as an European monarch. We know that, in 1782, he is mentioned in the pontifical calendar *only* as marquis of Brandenburgh. It is likewise notorious that the Treaty of Westphalia, wherein the privileges of Protestants were ascertained and confirmed, has not hitherto been acknowledged by the court of Rome: on the contrary, that court has, upon various occasions, declared its abhorrence of that instrument of peace between European nations, and from time to time thundered its anathemas against it.

As an example where the power and claims coincide, and where they were acted upon in a way equally foolish and deplorable, we give the following extract.

"The archbishop of Salzburg, baron of *Firmian*, inflicted on his country a similar calamity in the year 1782. After persecuting with the utmost atrocity those of his subjects who were not Catholics, he commanded them at last to quit their country, to the number of 30,000, without daring to carry with them any of their property, or even their families. This emigration has exhausted that little country. The unhappy fugitives were received by the Protestant states of Europe, and provided with the means of subsistence. A great part of them went to clear and people North America, where the descendants of those Salzburgers are still to be found."—AUTHOR.

Surely these instances prove, that the *claims* of the church of Rome, whatever may be determined of her *power*, have not passed away; that they remain still the same. It is equally evident, that a body of clergy, who (as the Popish clergy of Ireland do) consider themselves as missionaries in a land of heresy, and who are considered as such by their church, will do every thing in their power to support that church. It is no less evident, that the power of such a clergy over a people in general ignorant, irritable, and often dissatisfied, must be great. How then can Government with safety admit such men, who must abhor the dominion of Protestants, to all the privileges of citizens? A false statement has been made by the advocates for emancipation. They maintain that we refuse to Papists the privileges of

citizens, becauſe their *religious* creed is different from ours. All thoſe who are acquainted with the ſubject, either among Proteſtants or Papiſts, know that this is not the caſe. There are two deſcriptions of theſe emancipating advocates; one claſs knows that it advances a falſehood: the other, without examination, believes that the diſpute is merely a *religious* one; and conſidering, we are ſorry to ſay, every thing of the kind as a difference *de lana caprina*, pronounces that it ought not to impede any political arrangement. But our heſitation in granting to Papiſts all the privileges of citizens is not at all grounded on differences merely *religious*. Papiſts may believe in tranſubſtantiation—may worſhip the Virgin—may pray to her "*Jure Matris, imperа Redemptori*"—may kneel before ten thouſand ſaints, many of whom never exiſted, and many were, upon earth, any thing but ſaints; but whom, notwithſtanding, the holy father, by his infallible *fiat*, placed at the right hand of God. Though we may pity and deplore this debaſement of the human mind, yet we by no means maintain that ſuch belief ſhould deprive a Papiſt of any ſocial right. But when, along with this, he holds principles immoral, anti-ſocial, and dangerous to all Proteſtant ſociety, can we be blamed for withholding from him *ſome* of the privileges which a Proteſtant enjoys? Here a cry of *illiberality* is raiſed; but which, with the other outcries of ignorance, can have weight only with the ignorant. Liberality conſiſts in granting to a perſon more than he has a *right* to demand. But he is a fool, and not a liberal man, who beſtows on another what his conduct does not entitle him to, and what would, beſides, be hurtful to the grantor. The tranſlator might, therefore, have ſpared his accuſation of *illiberality*, which he lays to the charge of Lord Redeſdale. That noble lord does not "impute to Pius VII. the enormities of Alexander VI.;" but, upon the moſt incontrovertible grounds, he accuſes the church of Rome of ſtill holding the ſame immoral, anti-ſocial, and dangerous doctrines, which render Papiſts the objects of a jealous attention to every Proteſtant community. Let the church of Rome, in a *general council*, expunge from its eccleſiaſtical code the maxims to which we object, which it has at various times ſanctioned by that infallible authority, and which are no part of its *religious* dogmas, and the tranſlator will be convinced that *illiberality* is far from being a characteriſtic of the Britiſh government.

One more obſervation on the notes of the tranſlator, and we have done. Mr. Villers had ſaid,

"Let us remark yet farther, that the external form of religious inſtitutions being that portion of them which correſponds immediately with the ſenſes of man, and which thence unites itſelf with his paſſions; that the ſpirit, on the other hand, which animates thoſe inſtitutions, being that which correſponds directly with his intellectual part, it follows from this, in the firſt place, that the more any community is formed of ignorant and ſenſual men, men ſunk in matter, the more occaſion it will have for outward ſervices, for regulations purely ceremonial in its worſhip; and ſecondly, that the more any ſociety of men is enlightened, the more cultivated their intel-

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lectual powers in preference to their ſenſes, and the purer the ſpirit has remained of their other inſtitutions, the less will they endure the form of their worſhip to be clogged, and the more eager will they ſhew themſelves for a reform in this particular.

This, which the conduct of men in all ages, and in every country, has proved to be a truth, we did not expect would be contradicted. But Mr. M. tells us, that it "is a vulgar prejudice, which is tranſmitted from mouth to mouth, in defiance of the moſt obvious conſideration!" What the obvious conſiderations he ſpeaks of are, he has not condeſcended to inform us: all that we can then ſay is, that they have hitherto eſcaped our notice, and ſhall only add, that when Mr. M. ſhall have proved to us, that intelligent men have ever been more attached to the rites, ceremonies, and trappings of religion, than to its ſpirit and eſſence; and that, on the contrary, the ignorant and ſenſual men, the men ſunk in matter, have always ſpurned at rites and ceremonies, and have been the devotees of pure and unembodied religion, we will abandon Mr. Villers, and his doctrine, and will, with Mr. M. laugh at what has been hitherto conſidered as the common-ſenſe opinion of mankind. The long note which the tranſlator has introduced from a ſermon of Profeſſor Hardy, in oppoſition to the ſtatement of Mr. V. only proves what needed no proof, viz. that the religion taught by Jeſus Chriſt was pure, and ſimple. There is nothing in the ſtatement of Mr. V. inimical to this great truth. Mr. H. farther tells us, that Zoroaſter and Confucius taught, that true religion conſiſted in the adoration of the *Eternal One*, and in the practice of moral virtue. Be it ſo: Mr. V. has nothing to ſay againſt either Zoroaſter or Confucius. He has never denied that the Chriſtian religion, as preached by our Saviour, was pure, "without fictitious embelliſhment;" neither has he called in queſtion that men of a ſuperior mind, like the ſages here mentioned, had from time to time endeavoured to give a proper religious direction to the human mind: but he has ſaid, and truly ſaid, that men of ſound underſtanding will be attached to the eſſentials of religion, while the greater number, the ignorant, will cling to the non-eſſentials, to rites, ceremonies, pageantry, or myſticiſm. In this opinion he is ſupported by ſtubborn facts in the hiſtory of man. What a ſhort while did the purity of the Goſpel remain uncontaminated! and how ſmall is the number, even at this day, who worſhip in ſpirit and in truth, when compared with thoſe who may be called the ceremonial or myſtic Chriſtians! With regard to the Profeſſor's Zoroaſter and Confucius, of whom, by the bye, we know very little certain, *if* they taught the worſhip of the *Great One*, their religion never became the *popular* one, and has for ages ceaſed to be. Except a few ſuperſtitious Guebres, Perſia has adopted the more corporeal doctrines of Mahomet; and, in China, the deſcendants of Confucius behold the degrading rites of the Great God *Fo*, and the ſtercoraceous doctrines of the *mortal immortal deity of Thibet*, triumph over the ſimple and reaſonable maxims of their ancestor. Such is the miſerable hiſtory of man; and we ſuſpect that a ſimilar

ſimilar degradation will leſs or more be found, till perfectib'lity ſhall have reached that degree of perfection when we ſhall behold the peaſant endued with an *intellectuality* (if we may uſe the expreſſion) at leaſt commenſurate with that of the philoſophers of the day. We are old, and do not flatter ourſelves with the hopes of living to ſee, and to enjoy that intellectual millennium.

As the original of this work is not before us, we cannot pretend to ſay critically what are the merits, or demerits (if any), of the tranſlator. We are, however, diſpoſed to think that the tranſlator has, upon the whole, done juſtice to his original. He is evidently not to be confounded with the hack tranſlators of the preſent times, whoſe numbers are conſtantly increaſing, and muſt increaſe, ſo long as the booksellers (who, according to Johnſon's ſarcaſm, are *excluſively* literary patrons) are only ſolicitous to produce the *earlieſt* tranſlations, not the *beſt*. A wholeſale manufacturer in this way is applied to; he ſets his ſubalterns to work, and a ſomething is ſpeedily produced, where not only the ſpirit of the original evaporates, but where the idiom of our language is loſt, and even grammar is ſometimes not diſcoverable. We could mention ſome of thoſe manufactories; but what is, or is not a libel is ſo incomprehenſible a matter, that we abſtain: we have been taught caution: we have already been *confeſſors* to the cauſe of truth, and are not (hopeleſs as we are of ſucceſs) diſpoſed to become *martyrs*: a crown of martyrdom is an honour for which we do not feel ourſelves at preſent in complete preparation.

We had almoſt forgot to ſay, that the Sketch of the hiſtory of the Church, which is ſubjoined to the Eſſay, is a neat and ſufficiently correct abſtract; which may be peruſed with advantage by the unlearned, and which will not be found entirely uſeleſs to perſons of a different deſcription.

A Succinct View of Phyſical and Moral Means which might be ſucceſsfully employed by Great Britain, with or without the Aid of other Nations of Europe againſt the common Enemy of Order, Juſtice, Liberty, Commerce and Peace: including a Plan of an improved Syſtem of Naval Defence for this Country, together with ſome Obſervations on the Neceſſity of a new Organization of Germany, and on the injurious Conſequences to Great Britain of tolerating the Neutrality of Spain and Portugal. By a Britiſh Subject, lately a Priſoner in France. 8vo. Pp. 100. Egerton, Whitehall.

EVEN before the treaty of Amiens as we are informed in an advertiſement "the author of theſe pages, then in France, thought it his duty to denounce the dangerous views of Buonaparté to his countrymen, (meaning "to denounce to his author's countrymen the dangerous views of Buonaparté"—ſo the ſentence ſhould have been conſtructed.) "And he has, ever ſince, conſtantly endeavoured to ſtrengthen this impreſſion on their minds. Theſe pages were written

written ſome time ago, although their publication has for reaſons which it would be unneceſſary to mention, been poſtponed." At this day, he obſerves—

"The relative ſituation of the ſtates of Europe is ſo entirely novel, that it would be abſurd to look into hiſtory for a paralſel. All the nations on the continent are either too diſtant, too weak, or too much over awed by France to be any thing more than mere blanks in the exiſting conteſt. To reſcue the world from univerſal deſpotiſm, there muſt be a new organization of civil ſociety. This country muſt preſerve its wonted aſcendency, by aggrandizing in proportion as France aggrandizes, or the other nations of Europe muſt be placed in a ſituation capable of ſeverally reſuming and preſerving their independance. If Buonaparté deſires peace, it is only to forward his views of univerſal Empire. Our means of naval defence heretofore have been unſkilfully combined and deficient in degree. The number of our marines ſhould be augmented; and there ſhould be an eſtabliſhment of marine artillery. A ſtrong flotilla of ſmall boats or veſſels capable of rowing with celerity ſhould be conſtantly ſtationed ſo as to intercept the enemy's flotilla. This light flotilla would alſo be in many inſtances a means of attack. The augmentation of our eſtabliſhment of marines would enable us to board the enemies ſhips with greater advantage. And a harbour or baſon ſhould be made oppoſite to the French coaſt."

On the important queſtion of the blockading ſyſtem, our author is of opinion that

"Whatever may be the expence, inconveniences, or hardſhips of that ſyſtem, they are compenſated for more than fourfold, by the experience which it conſers on our ſeamen on the one hand, and on the other by the impoſſibility under which it places the enemy's ſeamen of acquiring that experience by keeping them conſtantly blocked up in their harbours. The war may, on our part be converted from an offenſive to a defenſive war. The preſſure of immediate danger being removed it will be uſeful to allow the bulk of the people to return to their uſual avocations. But in order that they may do ſo without detriment to the country, the number of both the regulars and militia ſhould by degrees be augmented: the former perhaps to 200,000, and the latter to 100,000 men. The eſtabliſhment of the horſe artillery ſhould be improved and extended—For French priſoners ſuitable accommodations ſhould be provided in one of the ſmall iſlands cloſe to the Main-Land in ſome of the northern parts of the kingdom, when any number of them might be guarded by a ſingle armed veſſel. Propoſitions might be made to Spain and Portugal for an interchange of territory. If theſe nations remain connected with France we ſhou'd declare war againſt them, and lay open the trade of her colonies in South America. A Darien company might be re-eſtabliſhed. The principle of neutrality during the war might with advantage be extended to ſeveral of the enemy's colonies. A third great power might be erected in the north of Germany, under the revived name of the Hanſeatic confederation; to which fact it would bear a near affinity or reſemblance. To this third power the port of Antwerp, and not to France, the important port of Antwerp muſt belong. This new Hanſeatic confederation diſguſted by French tyranny and oppreſſion would be ready to join a Ruſſian or Engliſh Army."

There is an uſual prejudice againſt all projects, ariſing from their common extravagance, which prevents, and from their frequent failure when carried into execution. Nevertheleſs, all projects are not either extravagant or impracticable. And, on the whole, projectors by ſuggeſting new ideas, that may with or without correction and improvement be adopted, deſerve well of the public. Different ideas are introduced into the mind by different aſſociations. Even an inferior genius may ſtumble on truths that may not occur to ſuperior minds, by ſetting out from a different point and purſuing a new courſe or tract. Of the projects now offered to the legiſlature and the public, we are of opinion that the whole are worthy of ſerious conſideration, and that ſome are ſo feaſible that they will, not improbably, ſooner or later be adopted. Such for example, is the plan propoſed for the confinement and accommodation of French priſoners. The outline of this plan we have already, in our general Analyſis, ſtated. In farther recommendation of it the author obſerves that the priſoners

"Might be daily ſupplied with proviſions from the Main-Land: but a week or a fortnight's ſtore might be always kept on the iſland in caſe of blowing weather. They could neither eſcape nor procure arms; and, if they were even to make themſelves maſters of the iſland, they might very ſoon be ſtarved into ſubmiſſion. They might be permitted to enjoy a greater degree of indulgence than in our priſons in the interior; and with conſiderably leſs expence, and no danger to the ſtate, ſuch of them as had trades or profeſſions might be allowed, as far as the nature of the ſituation would admit, to exerciſe them: and free acceſs might be permitted to ſuch as wiſhed to viſit them, ſubject to neceſſary regulations and forms. Such an eſtabliſhment would be at once economical and humane. It would be very bad policy to deliver up the French ſeamen, who fall into our hands, otherwiſe than in exchange for Engliſh ſeamen, ſince this would be gratuitouſly enabling them to man their ſhips of war, or to fit out privateers to moleſt our commerce; and becauſe, in the courſe of a few years of war, the number of the enemy's ſeamen that may fall into our hands and cannot be exchanged, will, in all probability be very conſiderable."

Changes in the political ſituation of Europe, as great as thoſe propoſed by our author, have actually happened. The independance of the powers, or the principal powers of Europe is to be reſtored only by as wide or a wider circle of innovation. And it may be obſerved that no ſettlement can be of long duration, that is not founded on a moral baſis: ſuch at that grand confederation of the principal European ſtates which was in the contemplation of Henry IV. of France, and our Queen Elizabeth, and which was recommended in the writings of Mr. Fletcher of Saltoun; the Abbé St. Pierre, Rouſſeau, and others.

A confederacy againſt the immediate and ſtill increaſing power and ambition of France, would grow ſtronger and ſtronger, by gradually drawing to its ſide the force of moral and religious ſentiments.

MISCEL-

MISCELLANIES.

A Sequel to, or a Continuation of, the Memoirs prefixed to the Works of the late reverend and learned George Bingham, B. D. or a Defence of the Conduct of his Succeſſor, the preſent Incumbent of ———, againſt the unfounded Inſinuations conveyed to the Public through the Channel of theſe Memoirs, addreſſed to the Clergy of the County of Dorſet, by the Succeſſor. Longman and Co.

THIS is one of the moſt contemptible performances we recollect ever to have read; the principles contained in it are altogether unjuſtifiable; and the language in which they are conveyed altogether unworthy of a beneficed clergyman. We have not given the title-page at length, for reaſons which will be very obvious to our readers. The ſubject of the publication is this: A valuable living became vacant about four years ago, which was intended by the family to whom it belonged for a younger ſon, who was then ſcarce twenty-two years of age. The curate applied to the gentleman's mother to hold the living for her ſon; in his applications to her he was very explicit; in order, as he declares, that if the ſon did not take poſſeſſion, he ſhould continue to be the Incumbent. It would have been much more liberal to have ſtated his views, and to have ſaid that he ſhould conſider himſelf Rector for life, provided the young man ſhould not be inſtituted. This, however, he carefully avoided. "From my firſt onſet," ſays Mr. Marſh, "in this buſineſs I had laid it down as my invariable maxim that I was to hold the ——— for the patroneſs' ſon, ——— *nominatim* and *for him only*; from that principle I determined never to deviate, and from that principle I never did deviate; for I made it my *general* rule throughout my correſpondence on that ſubject, ſo to keep alive and inculcate the idea of my holding *for him* and *for no other*, that though I could not poſitively affirm that *no* letter eſcaped me without my having adverted to the terms, yet can I ſafely declare that *ſcarcely any did!*"

When he had held the living about two years and a half, the young man for whom it was deſigned being ordained prieſt, he was requeſted to vacate. When, lo! he aſſures his patroneſs that it was an eſtabliſhed privilege—a thing of which we never heard before!—attached to the holders of livings for minors, not to be interrupted in their poſſeſſion during the year that had commenced, and that conſequently he truſted that ſhe would not object to his availing himſelf of that privilege. And, on the 7th of October, it ſhould ſeem, when the tythes had become due, he executed a bond of reſignation. He acquaints his readers in a note, that he had been informed near three months before, by a layman much connected with the family, that it was by no means improbable that the newly ordained clergyman's credentials would be inefficient. It would have been more manly in the author to have related even the inefficiency than to have left his readers to form very various and perhaps very injurious conjectures.

A little time ago, Mr. Bingham, in the memoirs prefixed to the works of his father, who was the preceding Rector, adverted on our author's conduct for not vacating the living. Mr. Marſh, in order, as he thinks, to juſtify himſelf, informs the world that his intended ſucceſſor's credentials are found to be inefficient. It is this declaration which has excited our indignation. For what can be more illiberal and unmanly? Who can read

this

this vindication without bluſhing for the want of feeling betrayed in every page? And to want of feeling, we might add, we fear, want of ſenſe. Had the author been conſcious he had acted an upright part, he ought, when he found himſelf accuſed in the Memoirs, to have gone to Mr. B. and have laid before him his whole conduct in the tranſaction. "If thy brother ſhall treſpaſs againſt thee, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone." We appeal to the feelings of the author, whether this would not have been a more gentlemanlike mode of proceeding than planting thorns in the boſom of a family to whom he cannot but acknowledge himſelf to be under very high obligations?

From the arguments which we cannot but reprobate, we proceed to the ſtyle. If preciſion be a mark of good writing, as it unqueſtionably is, Mr. Marſh poſſeſſes not the ſmalleſt pretenſions to it. Who can underſtand the following paragraph?

"Aware, as I am, of the extreme difficulty of eſtabliſhing by proofs the *negative*, after the *poſitive* ſide of the ſame queſtion has been boldly inſinuated to be true; and no leſs aware that it is out of my power to commit to the preſs at this time letters which have eſcaped from me three years ago, *(and of which I poſſeſs only copies)* I find myſelf driven to this alternative; either to reſt the principal evidence of my integrity on my own affirmation, or otherwiſe, to ſuffer the public mind to remain impreſſed by falſe *repreſentations* and *exaggerated complaints*.

Next follows a flight of the ſublime, and ſuch a flight as Demoſthenes could never reach.

"Now as I cannot acquieſce, under the idea of the public mind being thus miſled, I ſhall have recourſe to my own affirmation. But that affirmation ſhall not be a mere *ipſe dixit*, nor even a *bold inſinuation*; for as I bear about me *the teſtimony of my conſcience* that I have acted in *ſimplicity and godly ſincerity* throughout this whole tranſaction, it ſhall be an affirmation accompanied by an appeal to the ALMIGHTY: in whoſe preſence I am, and on whom I now call to be my witneſs; moſt ſolemnly and earneſtly beſeeching him that, at the laſt dread day, my ſentence of acquittal or condemnation may bear an ex & *ratio* to the truth or falſehood by which I am actuated."—Execrable nonſenſe!

We would recommend it to Mr. Marſh to collect all the copies which he has ſo liberally diſperſed, and alſo all that are in the hands of his ſeveral bookſellers; and to deſtroy them entirely, as they are only ſo many evidences of his outrageous temper, falſe taſte, and ſpecious integrity.

Tracts on East India Affairs: viz. Collegium Bengalense, a Latin Poem, with an English Translation, and a Diſſertation on the beſt means of civilizing the Subjects of the Britiſh Empire in India, and of diffuſing the Light of the Chriſtian Religion throughout the Eaſtern World. By George Chapman, L. L. D. Second Edition. 12mo. Pp. 20. 6d. Moir, and Creech, Edinburgh. 1803.

DR. C. in the Latin Ode (the tranſlation of which, by the bye, is an elegant compoſition) exhibits one of the Magi, on the banks of the Ganges, meditating on the paſt miſeries and deſolations of the Eaſtern Empire; his meditations are interrupted by the angel Gabriel, who deſcends from heaven, to chear him; this divine meſſenger adverts to his former miſſion on the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity; exhorts the *Magus* to forſake his idolatrous ways,

ways, and to adore the God of the Chriſtians. In concluſion, he pronounces an eulogy on the New College of Bengal, and on its founders and ſupporters.

In his diſſertation, Dr. C. recommends the diviſion of the Britiſh empire in the Eaſt, into governments, provinces, counties, and pariſhes, ſupplied with their proper officers; each pariſh to have a proteſtant clergyman, and a ſchoolmaſter, who ſhould be converſant with the language of the country. Theſe parochial ſchools, he thinks, would be "a proper preparation for the college of Bengal, at Calcutta." We concur with him, in the opinion, but, until the perſons entruſted with the direction of Eaſt India affairs ſhall take a more lively intereſt in the propagation of the Chriſtian religion, in their Eaſtern territories, than they have hitherto taken, we deſpair of ſeeing any beneficial plan adopted for the promotion of ſo deſireable an end. We always conſidered the eſtabliſhment of the college at Calcutta as eminently conducive to the extenſion of the Chriſtian faith; but we are ſorry to ſee, that this inſtitution has always been viewed with great jealouſy in Leadenhall Street, and we have not a doubt that the ſeminary recently eſtabliſhed in England for the education of youths deſtined for the Eaſt, had, for its principal object, the ſupply of a pretext for the abolition of the college in queſtion. The commercial legiſlators of Leadenhall Street, with thrice the number of ſubjects which the European dominions of his Britannic Majeſty contain, never ſuffer any concern for religion, or a proviſion for its miniſters, to interrupt their golden dreams of conqueſt and of gain. But we hope to live to ſee a complete change in the government of that vaſt empire; and the deſtruction of that *political anomaly* which at preſent ſubſiſts, to the aſtoniſhment of all who have ever given themſelves the trouble to reflect on the ſubject.

Obſervations on Indecent Sea-bathing, as practiſed at different Watering-places on the Coaſts of this Kingdom. 12mo. Pp. 12. 3d. Hatchard. 1805.

THESE Obſervations firſt appeared in the form of a Letter to the Editor of "the SUN," who inſerted them in his paper, and ſubjoined ſome very pertinent and judicious remarks of his own. The practice of which the author complains has certainly become very prevalent of late, and calls loudly for expoſure and ſuppreſſion. It conſiſts in the want of a due ſeparation of the bathing machines, uſed by women, from thoſe uſed by men; or of thoſe convenient canvaſs ſcreens which are affixed to the machines at Margate and ſome few other places, and which ought to be generally adopted. From this neglect, women have the appearance, as this writer obſerves, of bathing promiſcuouſly with men. "At Teignmouth, at Dawliſh, and at Exmouth, the bathing-machines, uſed by the ladies and the gentlemen, though deſtitute of awning, *are not ſeparated*, and the ſexes may be ſaid to bathe promiſcuouſly. At Sidmouth, indeed, the ſets of machines are ſeparated; but the diſtance between them is ſo ſmall, that it ſeems rather an apology than a homage to decency. Weymouth I have not yet viſited; but there I underſtand the laws of decency are reſpected." At Exmouth, we are told, a magiſtrate interfered to prevent this violation of decency, and the machines were for a time ſeparated, but, as the bathing women aſſerted to the ſaid magiſtrate, they were reſtored to their former proximity, *at the expreſs deſire of the ladies themſelves!!!* The author, however, conſiders, and we hope, for the credit of the ſex, *juſtly*, that this is a baſe libel of theſe mercenary

cenary wretches, who were themſelves influenced, by motives of convenience, to approximate the machines to each other. The author might have added *Cromer*, on the coaſt of Norfolk, to his liſt of places where this indecent mixture of the ſexes is conſtantly exhibited. Not only ſo, but while the women are bathing, men, aſſuming the *characters* and *appearance* of *gentlemen*, but certainly with the *actions* and *manners* of *blackguards*, ſtand by, very near to the machines, which have no awnings, ſtaring, with the moſt vulgar effrontery, at the female bathers. And, which is ſtill more ſtrange, the women are not *bathed*, to ſpeak *technically*, by perſons of their own ſexes, as at all other places, but are put into the water by two ſtout fellows, who are the only attendants they have.

The author next comments, with merited ſeverity, on an abominable practice prevalent at Brighton; where ſervants, ſoldiers, &c. bathe cloſe to one of the moſt public walks. Certainly ſuch a practice demands the interference of magiſtrates and peace officers, who are ſufficiently armed, by the law, with power to ſuppreſs it. Every public act of indecency is an offence *contra bonos mores*, and, as ſuch, indictable. We know of inſtances, in the vicinity of the metropolis, where magiſtrates have ſucceſsfully interfered; and have either ſtopped the practice, or enforced the law againſt the offenders. And indeed it is their bounden duty to do ſo on all occaſions. The author's reflections on the conſequences to be expected from accuſtoming females to the contemplation of indecent objects, and from the conſequent deſtruction of modeſty, that noble characteriſtic of the ſex, are eminently juſt, and his tract is entitled to public attention and praiſe.

Elements of Natural Philoſophy, containing explanations of the Heavens and the earth, atmoſphere, meteors, ſprings, rivers, &c. foſſils, plants, animals, human frame and human underſtanding. 18mo. Pp. 122. 2s. Vernor and Hood. 1805

A CONCISE and intelligent arrangement of the moſt ſtriking phænomena of nature. Such little treatiſes as the preſent, that convey a general knowledge of the greatneſs and harmony of the laws of nature, convey more information, and do more to eſtabliſh juſt principles of morality, than all the numberleſs volumes of tales and fables that have ever been written. After meeting with a very judicious and ſatisfactory account of foſſils, including the modern diſcoveries, we were ſurpriſed to find that the editor had entirely omitted every thing relating to chemiſtry. With that addition, and with ſome obſervations on the paſſions, this compilation would be uſeful even to ſome more experienced readers than thoſe for whom it is deſigned.

MEDICINE.

Some recent Caſes of Small Pox, ſubſequent to Vaccination. To which are added Experiments to aſcertain the Effect of Vaccinating in the Hand in Imitation of the caſual Diſeaſe; with Facts and Obſervations on the Effect of eruptive Diſeaſes in removing the Security derived from Cow-Pox. By William Goldſon, Member of the Royal College of Surgeons in London. 8vo. Pp. 134. 3s. Woodward, Portſea; Highly, and Hurſt, London. 1805.

An Anſwer to Mr. Goldſon, proving that Vaccination is a permanent Security againſt the Small-Pox. By John Ring, Member of the Royal College of Surgeons in London. 8vo. Pp. 44. Murray. 1804.

IT will be perceived by the dates of theſe pamphlets, that Mr. Ring's is an anſwer to a *former* publication of Mr. Goldſon, whoſe preſent tract may be conſidered, in ſome meaſure, as a *reply* to his opponent. So far from concurring with Mr. Ring in the cenſure which, with more aſperity than juſtice, he laviſhes on Mr. G. for raiſing doubts in the public mind, reſpecting the *permanent* ſecurity againſt the ſmall pox, derived from the vaccine inoculation, we think that he, and every profeſſional man, is entitled to thanks, who communicates the reſult of his own practice, concerning any new ſyſtem whatever. In a matter of ſuch vaſt importance to the public, as a plan for exterminating one of the moſt cruel diſeaſes which has ever afflicted the human ſpecies, nothing ſhould be concealed; every fact and every obſervation ſhould be publiſhed; the uſual tricks and deceptions of ſyſtem-mongers, who make every thing tend to their own favourite ſyſtems, ſhould be carefully diſcarded, and the eſtabliſhment of truth be the ſole object of every practitioner. Mr. Goldſon has communicated the facts which have come to his knowledge, with the utmoſt candour and temperance; and the caſes which he recites are certainly ſufficiently ſtrong to create ſtrong *doubts*, of the *laſting* effects of the cow-pock in deſtroying the capability of receiving variolous infection: and to prove the neceſſity of making every poſſible experiment, particularly ſuch experiments as he indicates, for aſcertaining this important fact, as far as ſuch a fact can be aſcertained. Mr. Ring, on the other hand, adduces a variety of inſtances, from a very extenſive practice, to demonſtrate the exiſtence of that *permanent ſecurity*, which Mr. G. queſtions. Theſe caſes are certainly highly ſatisfactory, in themſelves; but ſtill they do not, we think, warrant the deductions which Mr. R. has drawn from them; nor diſprove the neceſſity for farther experiments contended for by Mr. G. Mr. Ring mentions numerous experiments made upon perſons who had undergone vaccination *four or five years*, and who reſiſted every attempt to impart to them the variolous infection by inoculation, and by contact with perſons labouring under the confluent ſmall-pox. But theſe, ſtrong and ſatisfactory as they are, are not ſufficient to counteract the poſitive teſtimony of Mr. Goldſon, who reports caſes in which the variolous infection has been received after vaccination. We have ourſelves heard of a ſimilar caſe in the family of a moſt reſpectable clergyman, the preſent head maſter of Chriſt's Hoſpital. Mr. Ring, we muſt ſay, treats Mr. G.'s caſes with great diſingenuouſneſs, and does not preſerve that temper and decorum which become the advocates of truth.

Obſervations on ſome late Attempts to depreciate the Value and Efficacy of Vaccine Inoculation. By Samuel Merriman. 8vo. Pp. 36. Murray. 1805.

THESE Obſervations owe their birth to a publication of Dr. Moſeley's, which we have not ſeen, but which, from the extracts here given, appears to have been written in much the ſame ſpirit as Mr. Ring's Anſwer noticed in the preceding article. Indeed the expreſſions quoted by Mr. Merriman are neither creditable to the talents, nor to the temper of the author, and muſt injure the cauſe which they were intended to promote. So important a diſcovery as the vaccine inoculation is neither to be oppoſed nor ſupported, by declamation, invective, or abuſe; but by a fair communication of experiments, and by a ſober diſcuſſion of facts. Mr. Merriman, on the contrary, proceeds, with great temperance, to overturn the flimſy fabric which his opponent had conſtructed on a ſandy baſis; to ſhew that as much de-

clamation, abuſe, and miſrepreſentation, had been beſtowed on the variolous inoculation, on its firſt introduction, as has been ſince laviſhed on its ſubſtitute; and to prove that ſome of the caſes cited by Dr. Moſely, were neither more nor leſs than groſs mis-ſtatements, and perverſions of facts. He, very ſatisfactorily, confutes the aſſertion of Dr. M. that inoculation for the cow-pock has been the means of producing various other diſorders. On this part of his ſubject he ſtrengthens his own teſtimony by the authority of many reſpectable practitioners "who have unanimouſly declared, that they never knew any miſchief or injury to ariſe from vaccination." But here he does not deal quite fairly by Mr. Goldſon, for in a note to this paſſage, he obſerves; "Mr. Goldſon, in his 'Recent Caſes,' p. 94, *affects* to believe, that the ſignatures to this declaration were obtained through the importunate ſolicitations of a few zealous partiſans of vaccination." Now, taking the note in connection with the text, it conveys the idea that Mr. Goldſon concurred in opinion with Dr. Moſeley reſpecting the dangerous effects of vaccination; whereas Mr. G. in the laſt page of his pamphlet expreſsly ſays "Notwithſtanding experience leads me to doubt the permanence of its ſecurity, yet I ſhall be at all times ready to teſtify, that I never ſaw any ill effects, or any diſeaſe ariſing from vaccination, excepting a few inſtances of troubleſome eruptions, which might have appeared in the ſame ſubjects if they had been inoculated with the ſmall-pox. On the contrary, I am firmly of opinion, that the conſtitutional affection, when it does take place, is too ſlight to excite any ſcrophulous diſpoſition into action." And on turning to the paſſage to which Mr. Merriman refers, we find that Mr. Goldſon alludes there only to the abſurdity of calling on "the London practitioners to expreſs their conviction of its *permanent* preventive powers," in the very infancy of the diſcovery, and before that experience as could alone juſtify ſuch conviction could poſſibly be obtained. Mr. Merriman, however, agrees as much with Mr. Goldſon, as he differs from Mr. Ring, as to the propriety of a full inveſtigation of the ſubject; and his concluding obſervations are ſo creditable to his underſtanding, and ſo much in uniſon with our own ſentiments, that we ſhall extract them.

"It muſt be admitted, that we have yet much to learn reſpecting the action, the powers, and the laws of the cow pox. The ſubject is very far from exhauſted, and events requiring further inveſtigation are frequently occurring. Whether from ſome conſtitutional idioſyncracy, ſome error in the vaccinating proceſs, or poſſibly from the patients being liable to receive the infection of variola twice, it cannot be denied, that a few of thoſe who were believed to be ſecured by vaccination have been attacked by the ſmall pox.

"The ſame may, with truth be ſaid of variolous inoculation. A number of extraordinary caſes have been reported and recorded, which require to be examined much more minutely than they have yet been. It has been uſual to decide on theſe caſes according to the general rule, that the ſmall pox cannot occur twice. Yet as we now poſſeſs more than one duly authenticated caſe of ſuch ſecond ſmall pox; why may it not have occurred twice in ſome of thoſe inſtances which have been explained in another way, ſurely becauſe ſuch inſtances were ſuppoſed to be impoſſible?

"If Dr. Moſeley, or any other perſon, can bring to light, *real facts* and *deciſive caſes*, either for or againſt the cow pox; he will do very great ſervice to ſociety: but the very reverſe will be the reſult of publiſhing caſes which will not bear the teſt of enquiry. Thouſands of ſuch caſes as Curling's will not

not induce the public to give up ſo valuable a diſcovery, as that of Dr. Jenner has hitherto appeared. *The number of Cases is nothing, the reality of the fact is the whole.* The ſtricteſt attention to the whole truth is, therefore, neceſſary, that we may neither deceive others, nor be ourſelves deceived; and though there may be ſome over zealous partizans on both ſides, the majority of medical practitioners and the public in general are only intereſted in, and ought to be ſolely deſirous of, aſcertaining and abiding by the truth.

Hoc opus, hoc ſtudium parvi properemus et ampli,
Si Patriæ volumus, ſi nobis vivere cari."

Report on the Progress of Vaccine Inoculation in Bengal, from the period of its Introduction in November 1802, *to the end of the Year* 1803. *With an Appendix submitted to the Medical Board, at Fort William.* By John Shoolbred, Superintendant General of Vaccine Inoculation. 8vo. Pp. 94. 2s. Calcutta printed, reprinted in London, for Blacks and Parry. 1805.

THIS Report of the progreſs of vaccination in the Eaſt is highly ſatisfactory as to its reſult, and highly creditable to the exertions of the perſons entruſted with its ſuperintendence. It appears that no leſs than *eleven thousand persons* were inoculated with the vaccine virus, in the firſt year of its introduction, which are nearly three times as many as were inoculated in Great Britain during the ſame period. Dr. Jenner, however, has been led into a very groſs miſtake, as to its reception with the natives of Hindoſtan. In the Medical and Phyſical Journal for 1803, it was ſtated, "from Bengal, he (Dr. J.) alſo learns, that the Hindoos received it with the greateſt ardour, from the veneration [which] theſe people pay to the cow, as well as the ſecurity [which] they find in it from the ſmall pox." But the *fact* is, that the very circumſtance here repreſented as ſtrongly recommending vaccination to the Hindoos, has been the means of exciting their diſguſt. "The Bengaleſe inoculators make a ſtand againſt its introduction for the very reaſon that it does come from the cow. This is what Mr. Blaquiere alludes to, in lamenting that ſo great a bleſſing had not been introduced into India, under ſome other name than that of the cow pox.

A doubt ſeems to have ariſen, whether the vaccine diſeaſe was not known in India previous to its recent introduction from Europe; but to judge from the accounts before us, there is no reaſon to believe that this was the caſe; and the claims to this knowledge may probably be fairly imputed to the arrogance of the Bramins, who aſſume to themſelves a decided ſuperiority over the reſt of mankind.

Subjoined to this valuable tract, which contains much intereſting matter, we are happy to ſee a long liſt of valuable books in Oriental literature, publiſhed by thoſe reſpectable bookſellers, Meſſrs. Blacks and Parry.

DIVINITY.

A Brief Illuſtration of the Morning Service of the United Church of England and Ireland: ſhewing not only the use and design of its various parts, and the grea propriety with which they are arranged; but likewise the necessity of offering up our devotions with the worship of the heart, no less than with the service of the lips. By the Rev. John Clarke, Minor Canon of the Cathedral Church of Durham. *The second edition.* 12mo. Pp. 220. 3s. Rivingtons. 1804.

THIS familiar illuſtration of the principal parts of our excellent liturgy is very well adapted to the inſtruction of the lower claſſes of the community, who have not leiſure or opportunity to conſult the larger treatiſes

on the ſame ſubject; and for whoſe uſe it is avowedly deſigned. In his preface, Mr. Clarke laments the ſupineneſs and indifference with which the members of the Eſtabliſhed Church (to their ſhame be it ſpoken!) perform divine ſervice. Indeed the generality of them ſeem to think, that, if they go to church, and repeat the ſervice like parrots, they do all that is required of them; and as to *praying*, properly ſo called, that is, the fervent devotion of the heart, they appear to have no notion of it. Numbers of them do not even like the trouble of putting themſelves in the poſture of prayer; and ſcarcely any ſtand while the Pſalms are ſinging. Very juſtly does our author remark, that, in offering their ſupplications to the Deity, they diſplay leſs humility and reſpect than they would obſerve towards a fellow-creature of whom they were aſking a favour. And can ſuch perſons be ſo weak as to ſuppoſe that *ſuch* ſervice can be acceptable in the ſight of God? Prepoſterous ſuppoſition! No: it is rather a mockery of the Divine Majeſty.

In the notes at the end of the volume are ſome very ſeaſonable and forcible admonitions to thoſe Chriſtians who conſtantly turn their backs on the Lord's Table. Indeed this neglect of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper is, we fear, daily increaſing. But how imperfect a knowledge muſt that Chriſtian have of his duty, and how ignorant muſt he be of the *conſequences* of ſo flagrant a breach of it, who habitually abſtains from receiving the Sacrament. Some judicious reflections are alſo ſubjoined, on the ſinful conduct of the Methodiſts, in promoting ſchiſm, by ſeparating themſelves from the Church.

A Sermon preached at the Anniverſary Meeting of the Sons of the Clergy, in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, on Thurſday, May 12, 1803. By the Rev. G. H. Glaſſe, late Student of Chriſt-Church, Oxford; Rector of Hanwell, Middleſex; and Domeſtic Chaplain to his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Cambridge. 4to. Pp. 20. Rivingtons.

THIS ſermon, which has been miſlaid, ought to have received much earlier notice. It is an eloquent appeal to the feelings and religious principles of the congregation, in behalf of the truly unhappy widows and ſons of the clergy of the Eſtabliſhed Church. We heartily concur with Mr. G. in lamenting, that no legiſlative proviſion has ever been made for this very deſerving and moſt unfortunate deſcription of perſons. To thoſe who think, or at leaſt who *ſay*, with Dr. Aikin *, that the Church affords a proſpect of certain emolument to its clergy, and that the eccleſiaſtical is a moſt *lucrative* profeſſion, we recommend the facts ſtated in the 4th, 5th, and 6th pages of this diſcourſe. Would ſectariſts be ſatisfied with 308l. 10s. as the annual income of *ten* clergymen, and as the ſupport of *eighty-four* perſons? But we do not mean to compliment their integrity at the expence of their underſtanding, and therefore ſhall not accuſe them of giving more credit to their own aſſertions than they give to the revealed word of God.

On the Univerſal Prevalence of Chriſtianity; a Sermon preached at Nottingham, April 23, 1804; *at the Archdeacon's viſitation. To which is added an Appendix relating to the reſtoration of the Jews.* By Edward Pearſon, B. D. Rector of Rempſtone. Pp. 48. 1s. Tupman, Nottingham; Hatchard, London.

ISAIAH'S prediction, or prophecy, of the bleſſed effects of the eſtabliſh-

* See a letter by Dr. Aikin, in a ſubſequent part of this Number.

ment

ment of Chriſt's kingdom upon earth, forms the principal topic of this diſcourſe; in the courſe of which Mr. Pearſon treats, with his uſual ability, of the nature and end of prophecies. His admonitions to his brethren reſpecting their lives and conduct are excellent; and the whole diſcourſe does credit to this ſound and experienced divine. The appendix contains the author's notions reſpecting the expected reſtoration of the Jews, who, he ſuppoſes, have nothing more to expect from the Divine mercy, than a general converſion to the Chriſtian faith, and a conſequent participation in its benefits.

REVIEWERS REVIEWED.

THE ANNUAL REVIEW AND THE MONTHLY MAGAZINE.

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR,

THE following letter was tranſmitted, with an addreſs, to the editor of the Monthly Magazine, as directed below, in conſequence of his extraordinary aſſertions reſpecting the church of England and the Methodiſts, publiſhed by him in that miſcellany for the months of Auguſt and October, and ſigned POLITES. With my letter, you have a correct copy of the original papers by POLITES, i. e. *Dr. John Aikin*. This is perhaps the very firſt production of that voluminous writer, or rather collector, that any perſon ever thought worthy of being tranſcribed; and it is a proof, that the moſt ſterile imagination, and a mind which never once engendered an original thought—an unfortunate pauſe-grinder, tranſlator and editor, whoſe works, notwithſtanding all the various efforts of the modern art of puffing, have never been able to attain a ſecond edition—may yet, in the decline of life (like Eratoſtratus, who burnt the temple of Diana merely to be talked of), produce ſomething to reſcue his name from impending oblivion. It is a conſoling reflection indeed that the talents of the enemies of ſocial order are no leſs contemptible than their principles. To your theological correſpondents I ſhould have left the diſcuſſion of the doctrinal points, had not Dr. Aikin wiſely declined all other arguments but ſuch as were of a political nature. What indeed he has offered that bears any ſimilarity to argument, is drawn from that hackneyed theme of fanatical diſcuſſion, the ſtate of Ireland; favourite hobby of party ſpirit, ignorance, bigotry, intolerance, and faction. This very impolitic publication, however, muſt tend to ſhew what are really the ultimate views of this illiberal junto, of which Dr. Aikin is ſo induſtrious an agent, and to which his periodical or monthly labours are unceaſingly devoted, with ſufficiently inſidious zeal, though never with energy or originality of thought. Doubtleſs he will, as uſual, to avoid diſcuſſion, exclaim againſt what he calls want of taſte, in the freedom with which I expreſs my opinions, according to the genuine ſpirit of ancient Engliſh liberty, and to the frankneſs of Engliſhmen, who expreſs themſelves on men as on things agreeable to the qualities they may be found to poſſeſs. To this trite ſubterfuge of religious bigotry, that clings to its common centre with an obſtinacy great in proportion to its want of reaſon or logical argument, I ſhould reply in the words of one of Dr. A.'s oracles, *Il n'y a rien beau que le vrai*. Nevertheleſs, this equanimity, ſo much deſired but never attained by the French, whom Dr. A. has copied, is not in him a proof of tranquillity of mind. There is a vapid uniformity, characteriſtic of thoſe who are ſubject to frequent attacks of the moſt violent paſſions, but whoſe ſituation in life, whoſe aſ-

ſumed perſonal conſequence, and conſciouſneſs of their own mental imbecility; in a word, thoſe who have puſhed themſelves into a ſphere to which their natural talents are unequal, prevent them from ever committing themſelves before the public, but in a manner ſo completely ſoporific, that we inſenſibly aſcribe to ſuch writers their affected merit of apathy or indifference. Theſe authors uſually attempt to paſs their feigned indifference, or rather their *foiblesse d'esprit*, as a proof of their great candour. But if the age is daily becoming more and more enlightened, as Dr. A. *says*, it is a ſatisfactory proof of what he really *thinks*, as well of himſelf as of that public which he continually flatters, when he attempts to cozen this enlightened age into a belief, that his aſſumed indifference is either a proof or a conſequence of his candour. Such examples of *candour* are worthy of being placed along with thoſe of the *impartiality* of the *soi-disant* hiſtorian Belſham, who has diſplayed ſo much manual dexterity in cutting up the columns of certain newſpapers, to make twelve octavo volumes, that his bookſeller calls a hiſtory. If any of theſe volumes ſhould be, by accident, diverted from their natural and only purpoſe, that of enveloping the coal-porter's cheeſe and bacon, ſome literary adventurer may avail himſelf of the occaſion to aſſert, if not with the invidious and vain Abbé Mably, that the Engliſh have no good hiſtorians, at leaſt that they have books called hiſtories diſſimilar to thoſe of every other language, and that are neither illumined by truth, nor enlivened by imagination, but vulgar tales vamped up from the effuſions of ferocious fanaticiſm, political rancour, ambitious envy of office, and perſonal animoſity. But, Sir, I beg your pardon for thus obtruding theſe obſervations on your attention. Should they, with the letter, merit a place in ſome of the ſucceeding numbers of your Review, a work that daily becomes more and more intereſting to every man of independent mind, who can think for himſelf in defiance of political clamours or religious zealotry, who poſſeſſes the genuine ſpirit of liberty, deference to the laws, and reſpect for the religion and welfare of his country, it will be exceedingly agreeable to, Sir, Your moſt obedient,

B—— R—— VERITAS.

Oct. 28, 1805.

"*To* JOHN AIKIN, *M. D. Stoke-Newington.*

"SIR,

"I paſſed over your firſt attack on the national inſtitutions, under the ſignature of *Politus*, as one of thoſe modern tricks to excite attention or to acquire temporary popularity, for which you are principally diſtinguiſhed; but your ill-natured and ſcurrilous reply to *Clericus* convinced me, that you had at length betrayed yourſelf into an honeſt declaration of your private opinions and wiſhes, and that you really expected to ſee meeting-houſes and conventicles, with all their noiſy and incoherent ribaldry, ſubſtituted for the regular Chriſtian decorum, rational piety, and benevolence of the church. How far this is likely to happen, I know not; but I truſt it will be little accelerated by the promulgation of the ultimate views and ſyſtem of attack that you, as the efficient organ of a junto, and editor of a monthly publication on which you alone have ſo often beſtowed the epithet of "excellent miſcellany," preſent to your readers. Doubtleſs this attack on the church-eſtabliſhment will draw on you ſtill more general contempt than that * which you made ſome time ago on Dr. Reid, under the anonymous ſignature of *M. D.* The ingenious but often fanciful effuſions of that reſ-

* I would here be underſtood rather of the manner than the matter."

pectable

pectable phyſician, whoſe monthly reports generally evince ſomething of the *mens divinior* of genius, could not fail to arouſe the envious ſpleen of your eclipſed conſequence to wound his feelings as a man, but moſt aſſuredly without the power of injuring his character as a phyſician. Now that you have ſpent your malice, happily as impotent from its ſtupidity as vile from its cauſe, againſt the conſtitution of Church and State, let me recommend it to you to direct your attention again to medical ſubjects, and the moment is propitious for a long paper againſt the vaccine inoculation, by which you might attract a few readers, and have the honour of being enrolled with thoſe *candid* and *impartial* gentlemen who have diſcovered their talents for invention in the fabrication of 268 caſes of the ſuppoſed failure of that antidote.

But, to ſpeak more immediately to the ſubject you propoſe, namely, to prove that the church of England would remain preciſely the ſame as it is at preſent, if there were not one perſon in the kingdom who believed in her creed, articles, liturgy, or diſcipline! Truly the propoſition is worthy of the *profound* genius of its author, and is ſo very abſurd, that it would be inſulting common ſenſe to oppoſe it with arguments. It is, however, intimately allied with the recondite and very moral ſentiments of the Annual Reviewers, who have pompouſly announced their ſublime diſcovery in the human mind, that "*benevolence originates in luſt* *," and that the moral ſentiment of "patriotiſm is derived from the *cat!!*" When you ſpeak of "the ſpeculations of periodical critics," you, doubtleſs, except your friends and allies, thoſe ſagacious *annual* critics, whoſe work ſo manfully belies the boaſted progreſs of knowledge in this enlightened age, and offers a ſalmagundi of vulgar rhapſodies, vain conceits, low puns, affectation, puerile vanity, feeble dogmatiſm, impious and obſcene hints, a total want of good ſenſe or judgment, and the continued uſe of low ungrammatical language. Your two papers are indeed more poliſhed, and are perhaps the beſt ſpecimen of your uniform ſtyle.

"To the Editor of the Monthly Magazine (*Aug.* 1805) no. I.

'Sir,

'Among the ſpeculations of our periodical writers, I have obſerved one maintained with conſiderable confidence, relative to the ſuppoſed danger of the Engliſh eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment, from the rapid advance of Methodiſm. This is a point of ſufficient intereſt and curioſity, to deſerve the diſcuſſion even of thoſe who are indifferent as to the religious ſyſtems which might be finally triumphant in the conteſt; and I ſhall requeſt the indulgence of one or two of your pages for the purpoſe.

'That the Church of England might remain the ſame with reſpect to her hierarchy, her liturgy, and her emoluments (*in which her eſſence properly conſists*), were the doctrinal principles of the Methodiſts to become univer-

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" * I ſhould leave the very *delicate* obſervations of theſe *ſoi-diſant* critics on French women and dogs to their native kennel, were it not a public duty to caution all prudent mothers, all keepers of public or private ſchools, and profeſſors, who have either the love of virtue or good taſte in their minds, againſt the uſe of a work ſo groſsly immoral, ignorant, obſcene, vulgar, and deſtitute of every emblem of taſte and judgment, as the volume entitled 'Annual Review for 1804, A. Aikin, editor."

ſally prevalent, no argument, I conceive, is neceſſary to prove. Their doctrines, indeed, are alleged to be ſtrictly thoſe of her Articles; and however Calviniſtical theſe may be, they ſeem to have no repugnance to ally themſelves with clerical dignities and good livings. The danger, then, if any, will not ariſe from Methodiſtical churchmen, but from Methodiſts termed Diſſenters; that is, from thoſe who, more zealous for doctrines than for rites and ordinances, when unprovided with ſpiritual food to their taſte in their pariſh churches, will ſeek it in meetings and conventicles: and it cannot be doubted, that if the Church itſelf neglects to ſupply her members with that kind of inſtruction which experience demonſtrates to be the moſt acceptable to the majority, ſhe will find herſelf deſerted by numbers, notwithſtanding the attractions of outward ſplendour and public authority. But, not to mention that her miniſters have the remedy in their own hands, whenever they chooſe to preach conformably to their ſubſcribed Articles of Faith, ſhould even the worſt happen, and the majority of ſerious believers in the kingdom become ſeparatiſts, I do not ſee that the eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment would be more endangered than many other eſtabliſhments which are ſupported *rather as ſources of emolument to a few, than as uſeful or neceſſary to the community*. All the great families of the nation, who (as the Biſhop of Landaff well obſerves) are reverſionary proprietors of the church revenues, would continue to ſupport a ſyſtem, by which ſo many younger ſons and dependents are amply provided for. All the petty gentry would wiſh for the continuance of a lucrative profeſſion, to which they can devote part of their families at a moderate coſt. All thoſe who, from political ſyſtem, are friends to that *pomp* which impoſes on the vulgar, and awes them into ſubmiſſion, would deprecate the deſtruction of a *ſplendid piece of ſtate-machinery*. With ſuch a number of potent allies, the Church can never fall but in ſome grand convulſion of the State, againſt which no defences are available. Even now her maintenance is far from being voluntary on the part of the contributors; for there is ſcarcely a farmer in the kingdom who does not execrate the payment of tythes; yet no attempts even to procure an alteration of the mode have had any chance of ſucceſs. It is now reckoned ſound doctrine to hold, that the revenues of the Church ſtand on juſt the ſame ground of legality as the eſtates of individuals; and ſuch is the tender care of her welfare, that, in every commutation of property, ſpecial proviſion is made that ſhe ſhall loſe nothing, but may gain as much as ſhe can.

'The ſtate of the Church of Ireland is a ſtriking example of the advantageous poſition occupied by an eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment. Although it is the church only of (probably) the tenth part of the people, it is endowed as if providing for the religious wants of the whole iſland. This circumſtance is, indeed, grievouſly complained of, and has been a principal cauſe of the diſturbances of that country; but in none of the conciliatory plans has it been propoſed to take one ſingle living from the Iriſh Proteſtant Church, and give it to the Catholic and Preſbyterian clergy of Ireland. In the late Catholic petition, it might be obſerved, that particular care was taken to diſavow any intention of touching the revenues of the Proteſtant Church. Now, it can hardly be conceived, that, at any period, the Methodiſtical Diſſenters of England will become proportionally ſo numerous and powerful as the ſeparatiſts from the national Church of Ireland.

'One event alone would bring on danger to the Church from a ſtrong Methodiſtical party—an unadviſed perſecution! *Let high-churchmen, in this their*

their hour of triumph, beware of a measure to which some zealots seem desirous of urging them. Many circumſtances tend to ſhew that there is in this nation, rational and enlightened as ſome may think it, a latent germ of fanaticiſm, to the expanſion of which favourable occaſions alone are wanting. Perſecution, even of the moderate kind that the preſent times would allow, could not fail to give life and vigour to this germ, and no one can foreſee the limit of its growth. As quiet diſſidents, the Methodiſts, however numerous, are not to be feared; as provoked and injured ſectaries, they might be rendered really formidable. Yours, &c.

POLITES.'

'TO THE EDITOR OF THE MONTHLY MAGAZINE (*Oct.* 1805) NO. II.

'SIR,

'My cenſurer, *Clericus*, need not have affixed that ſignature by way of a diſtinctive appellation, ſince the manner in which he has conſidered the topic ſufficiently indicates one who has a *profeſſional* intereſt in it. When ſtripped of its miſrepreſentations, and garbled and interpolated quotations, his letter has ſo little left for a reply, that my remarks upon it will be in no danger of treſpaſſing upon your indulgence. The intrinſic excellence of our eccleſiaſtical conſtitution was no part of my conſideration; and if *Clericus* chooſes to aſſume its ſuperiority, in doctrine and diſcipline, to all other Chriſtian churches, and the divine authority of its whole hierarchy, from biſhops down to minor canons, I certainly ſhall not enter the liſts againſt him. The ſole point of my diſcuſſion was, a ſuppoſition ſtarted by certain periodical writers, that the ſpread of Methodiſm would finally endanger the exiſtence of the Church of England, by detaching from it the maſs of its preſent ſupporters. Admitting by hypotheſis the fact of ſuch a future defection, I attempted to ſhew that there would remain a ſufficiency of ſupport from worldly and political cauſes, to prevent its fall; and not one of the arguments I have adduced on this head is controverted by my opponent. To any one acquainted with the rules of reaſoning, I may confidently appeal againſt his charge of vilifying the Engliſh Church, by a ſuppoſition which I have merely adopted from another; nor has he any right to repreſent me as regarding the Church in the light of a *mere political machine*, when I argued, that, were it even to become ſuch in common eſtimation, it would ſtill be able to maintain itſelf by means of its connexion with the State. In truth, there are few ſubjects more curious and important than the nature and operation of religious eſtabliſhments, which may be conſidered perfectly apart from the influence of religion itſelf, or the authority on which they claim to be founded. But inveſtigations of this kind demand a portion of the philoſophical ſpirit which is not likely to fall to the ſhare of an intereſted zealot. Were the topic thought fit for further diſcuſſion in your miſcellany, I ſhould not decline a re-conſideration of the arguments I have produced; but I ſhould think it a waſte of time to pay any more attention to angry declamation and illogical reaſoning. With reſpect to the imperious call which *Clericus* has made upon me to produce proofs, "that any propoſals have been made in the Church, or any plan deviſed by her, for perſecuting the Methodiſts, or any other Diſſenters," I might content myſelf with ſaying, that no aſſertion of the kind is to be found in my letter, which only hints that "ſome zealots ſeem deſirous of urging the Church to ſuch a meaſure:" but *I do not ſcruple to affirm, that one who does not diſcern a marked tendency to intolerance in the writings and actions of several*

several of the present clergy (and some of no mean rank) must be possessed either of little information, or of strong prejudices. Your's, &c.

POLITES.'

" To assert that the 'essence of the Church properly consists in her hierarchy, her liturgy, and her emoluments,' might be in some degree applicable to the church of Rome, that will not acknowledge the existence of any other church of Christ on earth; but to say so of the rational and liberal Church of England, that recognizes every sect and believer in Jesus Christ as fellow-labourers and participants in the general redemption, is surely to betray rather too great a contempt for truth. To support this assertion, you disingenuously conceal the fact, that the doctrine of the Church of England, in which her essence as a particular Christian congregation consists, was in existence long prior to her actual emoluments. It is these previous and peculiar doctrines that may be called her essence, and not her adventitious and political emoluments, as you falsely and blasphemously assert. It is the preservation and spiritual efficacy of these pristine doctrines that every truly good and wise man is eager to maintain; and I have never seen any thing more expressed by the enlightened friends of social order, than their fears lest the joint influence of fanaticism, faction, and hypocrisy, should so far mislead the vulgar as to induce them to abandon the sound morality and rational piety of the parish churches, for the enthusiastic and immoral ravings of Methodists, or the more subtle delusions of puritanical hypocrites, who bask in the maternal rays of divine toleration, only to hatch their matricidal projects of desolating despotism. It is not then the speculations of any periodical critics of this country that have suggested to you the idea of covertly attempting to prove the Church of England a 'mere political machine.' You have gleaned it from the general view in the French work of Villers on the Reformation, and, to disguise your plagiarism, have ascribed it to English writers. To complete the whole, you have, *vraiement à la Français*, at once vilified the Church, denied it, and again attempted to prove the calumny! In this, Sir, as in all your other writings, prefatory dissertations, yclept 'critical essays,' letters, &c. I could trace the mother-idea of all your literary lucubrations, the germ of all your works, even your poetical rhymes, to the pages of those French authors from whom you have adopted them, with scarcely so much alteration as amounts to manneri m. To trace your French reading, indeed, were it worthy the labour, would be a work of no greater difficulty than to shew the English reading of all the modern French philosphers; and he must be a person little acquainted with the general literature of the two countries who could not do both. It must, nevertheless, be confessed, that you have generally added a little puritanical gall, especially in your sectarian reflections, to your borrowed sentiments, and that in this you have rather overshot the mark, when you injudiciously expose your designs by the insinuation that the Church, or any other establishment in this country, is supported for its emoluments to a few, instead of its utility to the public. It would be difficult, if not impossible, for you or any other person to prove the existence of any such establishment, either religious, political or commercial, in Great Britain; and the imaginary comparison is but an effusion of *malice prepense*. If your hereditary enmity to *all* religious establishments be real, as it would appear, why not direct at least a portion of your abuse to the General Assembly and Synods of Scotland, that exercise a control equally arbitrary, and infinitely more into-

intolerant, than that of the biſhops and rectors of England or Ireland. In truth, it is not any averſion from religious eſtabliſhments as ſuch, that occaſions your implacable wrath to the Church, but becauſe you cannot participate in her emoluments, "as your Calviniſtical doctrines have no repugnance to ally themſelves with clerical dignities and good livings." On this account it is difficult to avoid ſmiling at and pitying the invidious zeal that you diſplay for the promulgation and extenſion of the 'doctrines and ſpiritual food' of the Methodiſts, while you yourſelf would kindle into rage at the perſon who would call you a *Methodist!* Of the Diſſenters' virtues, let the Miſſes Wooliſtoncrafts, Williams's, &c. ſpeak, whoſe foul deeds on the continent have given foreigners the opportunity of pointing at the impecable characters of Engliſhwomen in general.

"Turning to your boaſted example of the ſtate of the Iriſh church, it is evident that you have the temerity to argue and judge from vulgar report and hearſay, and that you are ſtill more ignorant of the true ſtate of that country than of France. Very unfortunately for your concluſion, the whole premiſes are a tiſſue of falſehoods. It is not true, that the eſtabliſhed Church of Ireland is the church of only a tenth part of the people; if property, virtue, and intellect (and, upon your own principles, you muſt acknowledge the religious importance of the latter), be conſidered, it is the church of at leaſt two-thirds, if not of three-fourths. It is not true, that 'it is endowed, *i. e.* ſupported, as if providing for the religious wants of the whole iſland.' There are numberleſs pariſhes in Ireland in the poſſeſſion of the deſcendants of very reſpectable Engliſh and Scots families, who ſettled there at different periods of the Engliſh hiſtory, and who have been the chief means of civilizing and cultivating the country to its preſent ſtate, where the very exiſtence of tythe is ſcarcely known! Many reſpectable, intelligent, and wealthy farmers, who occupy from 50 to 80 acres of good arable land, who keep from five to eight horſes, and who barely know that they have, from time immemorial, paid with their yearly rent the tythe, which in many caſes does not amount to 1s. 6d. per annum! Is this, then, an adequate ſum for ſuch an occupant to give for the ſupply of his religious wants? Is the annual ſum of 1s. 6d. enough for the head of a reſpectable family to contribute to the ſupport of religious inſtitutions? This exceſſive leniency on the part of the clergy of the eſtabliſhed Church in Ireland has not unfrequently been blamed, as it often prevented them, in conſequence of the modicity of their fortunes, from enjoying that influence in the country which their character and talents ſhould naturally poſſeſs; but it originated from motives which muſt ever be the glory of every good mind, the genuine Chriſtian ſpirit of toleration. Equally erroneous and contrary to fact is your aſſertion, that there has been "nothing taken from the Proteſtant to give to the Preſbyterian or Catholic." Several thouſands have been annually diſtributed to the Synod of Ulſter, to the Seceders or Anti-Burghers; and to the Catholics a college has been founded, while not a ſingle pariſh church has been built. The revenues of the Proteſtant Church have experienced but little advance during the laſt century, although both Preſbyterian and Catholic have been relieved by the Government. Are theſe the means of aggrandizing the Church, and of enabling her to 'gain as much as ſhe can?' But it was not without conſiderable aſtoniſhment that I perceived you deliberately inſult your readers, who are daily becoming leſs numerous, by an open outrage to hiſtorical facts, in aſſerting that

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the tythe 'has been a principal cauſe of the diſturbances of that country.' Surely the meaneſt and moſt devoted of your readers can convict you of this premeditated falſehood. You doubtleſs well know, that the hearth-money tax excited much general clamour; but that the tythe, even in the moſt inflammatory declamations, was only incidentally mentioned. As a proof of this, many clergymen of the Eſtabliſhed Church preached ſermons and aſſiſted in forming reſolutions, which, had the extinction of tythes been a primary object with the reformers, they moſt aſſuredly never would have done. Latterly, indeed, the chiefs had no well-digeſted ultimate views, but their own ambition; and the maſs of the Catholics only thought of reeſtabliſhing their religion, while the Diſſenters dreamed but of democracy and viſionary independence. After this, Sir, I hope you will have the ſincerity to ingenuouſly acknowledge your error, and for the future to guard the moſt reſpectful ſilence of Iriſh affairs, which have been ſo long the fertile topic for preſumptive ignorance and factious diſcontent. Your appeal to the late Catholic petition is another ſpecimen of that addreſs, commonly called cunning, which for the time converts its moſt deteſted object into offenſive weapons againſt a more powerful and noble enemy. This is alſo one of the moral principles for which you are indebted to the French, who hold *all means just for the attainment of a good end*, and which is admirably adapted to the private convenience of thoſe who are 'all things to all men.' But I am confident that you are no more a friend to the prayer of that petition than I am, only ſo far as you may erroneouſly ſuppoſe that the Catholics, raiſed to power, would alſo in gratitude raiſe the Diſſenters, and that jointly you could overturn the State. A very ſhort time indeed would leave you to lament bitterly this deluſion; and were the Catholics once admitted Members of Parliament—a meaſure, by the way, that you can never ſeriouſly contemplate—they, well knowing your ſervices to their cauſe did not ariſe from diſintereſted friendſhip to them, but from hatred to the Proteſtants, would treat you with that contempt which the turpitude and treachery of your motives ſhould juſtly receive. Had you really any knowledge of Iriſh politics and of Catholic principles, you would have known that this conduct was actually evinced in the county of Down, where the elders of the Catholics, at the moment of inſurrection, refuſed to fight before that the Diſſenters would promiſe to reſtore the Catholic religion. The very propoſition electrified the Diſſenters; great numbers ſilently threw down their arms, and retired peacefully to their houſes; others haſtened to join the armed yeomanry; and ſince that period, notwithſtanding recent occurrences, there has been no more of Catholic emancipation in that populous county.

"To thoſe whoſe opportunities of knowing the political ſituation of Europe have been more limited, I leave the conſideration of your impotent menace, '*Let churchmen beware in* THIS *their hour of triumph*,' plainly indicating your belief and hope that *this hour of triumph* will be ſhort-lived, and that (contrary to the avowed object of your paper, but agreeable to your private wiſhes) the *Church is really in danger!!* As to the 'latent germ of fanaticiſm,' you have doubtleſs ſpoken from your own feelings, and are ſo well

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* It was fairly acknowledged by the chiefs of the rebels, on their examination before the Secret Committee of the Iriſh Senate, that the people had no intereſt in the abolition of tythes; but that, on the contrary, if tythes were aboliſhed, the people would pay much more to their landlords, who would, in ſuch caſe, undoubtedly raiſe their rents.—EDITOR.

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qualified to exemplify the opinion, that I feel little disposed to argue the point. For myself, with some experienced knowledge of the politics, manners, customs, and religion of every country in Europe, independent of Church and State, unknown to all parties or factions, I am neither an 'interested zealot,' nor a 'fanatical sectarist,' and have only to regret, that your conduct and principles have been such, that my observations are really severe only because they are true. "Yours, &c.

Oct. 2, 1805. "VERITAS.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

AFTER that deep gloom which has so long obscured the political horizon, threatening to overwhelm, in one destructive torrent, the few existing institutions that have survived the revolutionary storm which spread death and desolation over one half of the European continent, it is, with inexpressible satisfaction, we, at length, descry one ray of consolation, giving birth to better hopes, and promise of better days. The Continental powers seem, at last, to have awakened, from the delusive dreams of security which have so long benumbed their perceptive faculties, to a just sense of the dangers which surround them; dangers not of yesterday, not resulting from any *recent* measures of the political arch-fiend, their general and inveterate enemy; but co-eval and co-existent with the revolutionary principle, which received its final sanction and confirmation, by those *hollow truces* which Weakness concluded with Rebellion at Luneville and Amiens. *Our* readers will do us the justice to acknowledge, that we always duly appreciated those deceptive treaties, as well as the principles, the views, the intentions, and the disposition of the individual on whose *will* alone their duration depended. Should there exist, in any of the parties engaged in the present confederacy against France, the smallest inclination or design to conclude *similar* treaties with the common foe, they will have exposed themselves to a just charge of having incurred the guilt of wantonly taking up arms, of promoting a vast effusion of human blood for no one salutary purpose; but if, on the contrary, they have embarked in this great cause, on honourable and comprehensive principles of policy, if they have bravely resolved to encounter every danger and to run every hazard, in order to rescue Europe from the yoke of slavery; to replace it on something like its pristine state; to extort *ample* indemnity for the past and *effective* security for the future; and, if possible, to give the death-blow to the regicidal system, by restoring the Bourbons to their lawful throne; and if the vigour of their conduct also be correspondent to the wisdom of their views, then we may still entertain hopes, not more sanguine than solid, that the fullest success will attend their laudable efforts.

At all events infinite praise is due to the British government for their skill in animating the councils of the Continent, and for the promptitude with which they have availed themselves of the auspicious change in the disposition of foreign potentates, to frame and to consolidate that combination of strength without which no rational expectations could be formed of subduing the monstrous, overgrown power of France. The manifestoes already issued by the Russian and Austrian emperors must be satisfactory to those *moderate* politicians who deprecate all plans of conquest, though they would chearfully acquiesce in every encroachment, every aggrandizement, however erroneous, or however dangerous, of the Corsican upstart. For our part, though we consider vigour in the cabinet and decision in the field, as the

the only means of bringing this great conteſt to an honourable concluſion, we are very far from cenſuring that language of moderation, which has been employed on the occaſion, we truſt, however, that the neceſſity of clipping the wings of the *Gallic cock*, though, at the command of the miſcreant who has for ſome years laid violent hands upon it, it has affected to aſſume the ſemblance and demeanour, of an *Imperial eagle*, will ſpeedily be acknowledged. If Europe *could be* reſtored to the preciſe ſituation in which it ſtood previous to the exploſion of the revolutionary volcano, it were "a conſummation devoutly to be wiſhed." But next to this moſt deſireable object, the attainment of which exceeds, alas! our moſt ſanguine expectation, it is our ardent wiſh to ſee the power of France ſo circumſcribed, and to ſee her territory ſo ſurrounded, not by tributary ſtates, as at preſent, but by ſtrong and potent nations, as would effectually fruſtrate, for the future, all her daring attempts to carry her grand project into effect of eſtabliſhing an univerſal empire over the whole European continent. This gigantic plan, conceived by the fourteenth Lewis, has never been loſt ſight of: it was ſuffered to lie dormant for a while, but, on the eſtabliſhment of the revolutionary power, it was embraced with additional energy, and the vanity of the French was flattered by the promiſes holden out to them, by their republican tyrants, of its ſpeedy and complete ſucceſs. Under every change or modification of their government, this favourite deſign of overweening pride, and inſatiate ambition, has been ſeduloufly cheriſhed, and, as often as opportunity occurred, rigidly acted upon. That our wiſh, in this reſpect, will be ſoon gratified, is highly probable from the diſpoſition and conduct recently manifeſted by the KING OF PRUSSIA. The cabinet of Berlin, to whoſe crooked and miſtaken policy, all the paſt ſucceſſes of the French may fairly be attributed, as their primary cauſe, at leaſt, has, at laſt, been led to acknowledge the force of thoſe truths, which, ariſing out of the nature of things, and ſupported by the ſtrong evidence of facts, we have, for ſeveral years, been labouring to impreſs on its mind. It perceives that regardleſs of all laws, human and divine, which impoſe reſtraints on his ambition, preſcribe limits to his revenge, or, in any way, interpoſe obſtacles to the gratification of any, the worſt, propenſities of one of the worſt minds that ever animated an human form; the Corſican uſurper treats all lawful potentates with ſovereign contempt, the moment they ceaſe to miniſter to his power, or to be ſubſervient to his will. Tardy, as his Pruſſian Majeſty has been, in acknowledging theſe facts, which have long been manifeſt to us, and in perceiving alſo, what we have long ſeen and proclaimed, that he was only excepted from the common treatment of his contemporaries, for the purpoſe of facilitating their ſubjugation, and to be the laſt ſwallowed up in the vortex of uſurpation—we hail the acknowledgment with joy, as the earneſt of exertions adequate to the juſt ſenſe of his danger.

Notwithſtanding, then, any partial advantage which the Uſurper, by his raſh and deſperate conduct, baffling all the tactics of the regular ſchools of war, may gain at the opening of the campaign, the farther he removes from his own frontier the more will his danger increaſe, and it will be abſolutely impoſſible for him not ultimately to ſink before that vaſt maſs of military ſtrength, which the confederated powers can, in a very ſhort time, bring to bear upon him. We ſpeak here on the ſuppoſition, that the confederacy, evidently formed on the moſt powerful baſis, a *principle of self-preservation*, will act with vigour and energy, and employ all their reſources againſt the common foe. As there can be little doubt that the example of Pruſſia will be followed by the King of Denmark, and the Electors of Saxony and Heſſe,

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on the moſt moderate computation the allies will be able, in a ſhort time, to bring a *million of men* into the field. The preſent force of Auſtria alone falls little ſhort of *four hundred thousand* effective men; that of the Emperor of Ruſſia exceeds *half a million*; the Pruſſian monarch has, at leaſt, *three hundred thouſand* highly diſciplined troops; and a *hundred thousand more* may, with facility, be ſupplied by Sweden, Denmark, and the German Electors. Such a force, animated by one common ſpirit, and having one common object, is more than adequate to ſubdue any ſtrength which the Uſurper, and his minions and his ſlaves can oppoſe to it.

We have long known the *Elector of Bavaria* to be a mere tool of the aſſaſſin of Jaffa; but though it was impoſſible for him to be ſunk to a lower ſtate of degradation, yet we could never have believed, that any man enjoying the elevated ſtation which he filled, could be guilty of ſuch a ſcandalous and unprincipled breach of honour and of good faith, as this unworthy prince has diſplayed in his baſe conduct to the Auſtrian emperor. After pledging himſelf to join his imperial majeſty, and inviting his troops to occupy his territory, he enters into a treaty with the enemy, unites his army with the French, and reſigns his dominions to the invaders of his country. We truſt that ſuch baſeneſs will not paſs unpuniſhed; and as he has broken his plighted faith, violated his ſworn allegiance, to his lawful chief, we hope there remains ſufficient energy in the councils of the allies, to have this diſhonoured prince ſubjected to the ban of the empire, and to all the conſequences of ſuch a diſgraceful ſituation! As for the petty princes of Wurtembergh and Baden, they have plainly manifeſted, by their conduct, that men may want the courage to defend themſelves againſt an enemy, but have the deſperation to commit an act of ſuicide.

Buonaparté's policy, no doubt, is firſt, according to the uſual cuſtom of the French, to maintain his army at the enemy's expence, and ſecondly, to obtain ſome important advantage over the Auſtrians before they can effect a junction with the Ruſſians. His firſt object he may, for a time, ſecure; but he will undoubtedly be foiled in his expectations of obtaining ſuch an advantage over his adverſaries as will be deciſive of the fate even of the *firſt* campaign. Such an empire as Auſtria is not to be overrun in a winter, nor its capital to be taken by a coup-de-main. Defended by troops as brave as any which the world can produce, if their ſovereign has but ſo far profited by experience, as to be circumſpect in his ſelection of commanders, with the aid of his illuſtrious brother, the gallant Archduke Charles, we have no doubt that he has, he may find opportunities enough of checking the progreſs of the enemy, notwithſtanding even *repeated* defeats, till he ultimately make them repent their temerity, and turn the tide of victory in his own favour.

As to the manifeſtoes which the uſurper and his miniſter, the apoſtate biſhop of Autun, (who has no doubt been reſtored, together with his maſter, to the favour and good wiſhes of, his Holineſs, the Pope) have iſſued from their revolutionary preſſes, they contain ſuch a ſeries of the moſt impudent falſehoods, diſguiſed with ſo little art, and ſo very ill calculated to deceive, that it would be a woeful waſte of time, and almoſt an inſult to the underſtanding of a *Britiſh* public, to enter into a ſerious refutation of their contents. They ſupply, however, the ſtrongeſt proof of the complete ſubjugation of the public mind, of the annihilation of all public ſpirit, and of the general prevalence of the moſt abject ſlavery, in France; for to none but to men, as deſtitute of ſpirit as of freedom, could ſuch ſhameleſs productions, not exhibiting even reaſoning ſufficient to be accuſed of ſophiſtry, nor appearance enough of truth to be chargeable with the intention to deceive, be

poſſibly

poſſibly addreſſed. While they can ſupply food for the national vanity by victories abroad, they may ſucceed in preſerving this unnatural ſtate of things at home; but let them be aware of a reverſe of fortune; defeat and diſappointment will diſſolve the charm; and the *beggar's horse* (in verification of the proverb) will then break his rider's neck. It is not yet time, however, for entering upon an enlarged and comprehenſive view of foreign politics; we muſt wait till the views and deſigns of the leading powers are more fully developed.

On domeſtic politics we have nothing to obſerve at preſent. We heartily congratulate our countrymen, upon the talents and vigour, which have marked the policy of our government, and ardently wiſh that this auſpicious period may produce ſuch an union of parties, as would combine all the knowledge and abilities of the Britiſh empire in oppoſition to the moſt wily, the moſt inveterate, and the moſt formidable enemy which it ever had to encounter. Surely no man, poſſeſſing the ſentiments of a Briton, can withhold his applauſe from the preſent ſyſtem of our miniſtry, which ſeems to embrace every object connected with the ſecurity or the honour of the country. We cannot, however, but expreſs our aſtoniſhment at the novel line of conduct purſued by the government of Ireland; we forbear to enlarge upon this topic at preſent; but if the moſt loyal of Proteſtants are to be perſecuted in compliment to the moſt diſloyal of Romaniſts; if one man who has even publickly called in queſtion the King's title to the throne; and another who was *proved* to be in the ſecrets of the United Iriſhmen, and in the confidence of their chiefs, during the late rebellion; are to be received with favour at the caſtle; while thoſe who ſhed their blood in defence of their Sovereign, are viewed with miſtruſt and treated with diſdain; if this continue to be the caſe, forbearance will become cowardice, and ſilence, treachery. But convinced as we are, that the honourable mind of our miniſter, while it will ſeek by every fair and upright means, to conciliate the affections of every claſs of his Majeſty's ſubjects, is incapable of approving conduct ſo foreign from his own, and ſo repugnant to his principles and ſentiments; we entertain hopes that the ground of our complaint will be ſpeedily removed. We abhor perſecution againſt whomſoever it is directed; if the Romaniſts were its object our voice ſhould be raiſed againſt it; what indignation then muſt it excite in our minds when we ſee it exerciſed againſt "thoſe who are of the houſhold of faith;" who are the warmeſt friends of their Sovereign, and the moſt ſtrenuous defenders of his rights?

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

WE muſt refer "*Docilis*," for an anſwer to his Queſtions, to the Biſhop of the Dioceſe in which he reſides. A public diſcuſſion of them would, in our opinion, be improper.

"Hypercriticus" is received, and his admonitions ſhall meet with all the attention which they deſerve.

A. X.'s very ſevere Letter to the Viceroy of Ireland is inadmiſſable. Though we muſt diſapprove ſome parts of his Excellency's conduct, we entertain too high a reſpect for his character and private virtues, to render him the object of ſuch an attack.

"*Anti-Catiline's*" communications reſpecting Mr. Grattan are received; but the facts muſt already be known to every one who has read the Reports of the Secret Committees of the two Houſes of Parliament in Ireland; an account of which will be found in the firſt volume of the ANTI-JACOBIN REVIEW.

THE

ANTI-JACOBIN

Review and Magazine,

&c. &c. &c.

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Æqui judicis eſt veritati potius, quam lectori calumnianti morem gerere.
VARRO.

ORIGINAL CRITICISM.

A connected and Chronological View of the Prophecies relating to the Chriſtian Church; in Twelve Sermons, preached in Lincoln's-Inn Chapel, from the Year 1800 *to* 1804, *at the Lecture founded by the Right Reverend William Warburton, Lord Biſhop of Glouceſter.* By Robert Nares, A. M. F. R. S. F. A. S. Archdeacon of Stafford, &c. Pp. 371. 7s. 6d. Rivingtons. 1805.

THE lecture founded by the honourable Robert Boyle, for the purpoſe of proving the truth of natural and revealed religion, againſt atheiſts and deiſts, has produced a ſeries of diſcourſes, which, for the importance of the ſubjects treated by the ſeveral lecturers, for perſpicuity of language, and cogency of argument, remain, perhaps, unrivalled in the Chriſtian world. The utility of that inſtitution gave riſe to many others of a ſimilar kind, moſt of them indeed with a more confined object. Some were founded to ſupport the Catholic faith of the Eſtabliſhed Church againſt heretics and ſchiſmatics; others, to prove the truth of revelation againſt the cavils of deiſm, without taking into conſideration the chilling doctrines of atheiſm; but we recollect none, except the lecture founded by Warburton, in which the lecturer is not left at liberty to employ ſuch arguments as to his own judgment may appear beſt adapted to eſtabliſh the truth of the doctrines which he is called upon to prove. The argument from the fulfilment of prophecy is indeed the moſt convincing, perhaps, of any to us who ſaw not with our own eyes the ſtupendous miracles of

Chriſt and his apoſtles, and on that account it was well choſen by the learned and ingenious founder; but it lays the lecturer under hardſhips and difficulties, from which other lectures are happily exempted.

The prophecies of the Old and New Teſtaments are ſo expreſſed, that the greater part of them can be fully underſtood only when they are ſeen to be accompliſhed. This degree of obſcurity, if ſuch we may preſume to call it, is ſo far from being an objection to prophecy, that it evinces at once both the wiſdom and the goodneſs of its author. Many of the prophecies of the Jewiſh and Chriſtian ſcriptures point to future crimes and calamities; and the moſt important of them all relate to the firſt and ſecond advents of the Meſſiah, and the intermediate ſtate of the church of God. Had future crimes and calamities, with their immediate authors, and all the circumſtances attending them, been as clearly deſcribed in prophecy, as they may be in hiſtory after they have happened, it is not conceivable how ſuch prophecies could have been fulfilled, but by laying ſuch a reſtraint on the human will, as we are ſure never will be laid on it by the all-wiſe and equitable Governor of the Univerſe. And had the object of Chriſt's coming into the world, the nature of the religion to be eſtabliſhed by him, and the ſhadowy emptineſs of the Moſaic ritual, been pourtrayed in the prophecies of the Old Teſtament with the ſame diſtinctneſs and preciſion as in the epiſtles of St. Paul, the Jews would have had no reverence for that law, under which Providence ſaw it expedient to place them.

At the Exodus, and for many generations afterwards, the great body of that people was not qualified to profit by a ſimple and refined religion like Chriſtianity. The law, therefore, with its burdenſome ritual, was given to them as a ſchoolmaſter to bring them gradually to Chriſt; and it was fit that the ſchoolmaſter, as long as they were to be under him, ſhould retain their reverence, and be ſupported in his authority. The prophecies of the Meſſiah and his kingdom were, on that account, neceſſarily expreſſed in ſuch terms as ſhould not expoſe to public view the vaſt inferiority of the Jewiſh religion, to that which was ordained to ſucceed it, and of which it was in reality a mere adumbration. The prophecies, which in *no ſenſe* extended beyond the duration of the Moſaic law, were generally expreſſed in the cleareſt terms; but thoſe which reached forward to the Chriſtian diſpenſation were veiled in ſacred obſcurity: they were not ambiguous like the heathen oracular reſponſes, but they were "a light which ſhone in a dark place, till the day dawned, and the day-ſtar aroſe." They are, of courſe, to be interpreted only by the events of which they are predictive; but all the prophecies, which have been clearly and indubitably fulfilled, have been ſo often commented on by men of the firſt abilities; the particulars of each prediction have been ſo accurately compared with the events to which they relate; and the argument for the divine origin of the Hebrew and Greek ſcriptures, ariſing from the complete agreement of the one with the other, has been

been ſtated in ſuch varied and forcible terms, that nothing which is new, and not much that is intereſting, would ſeem to be left for any writer of the preſent day, on the ſubject of prophecy.

Theſe are great difficulties; but they are not the only, nor perhaps the greateſt, difficulties with which the Warburtonian lecturer has to ſtruggle. By the will of the founder, he is enjoined to "prove the truth of revealed religion in general, and of the Chriſtian in particular, from the completion of the prophecies in the Old and New Teſtament, which relate to the Chriſtian church, eſpecially to the *apoſtacy of Papal Rome*;" and this laſt clauſe lays him under a kind of obligation to interpret the moſt myſterious and difficult books in the whole Scriptures, more particularly the Apocalypſe of the apoſtle St. John. We need not enumerate the various and contradictory opinions which have been held and plauſibly ſupported, reſpecting St. John's *Antichriſt* and the *Man of Sin*; but taking it for granted, that the opinion of the founder of the lecture is the true one, what can be ſaid in ſupport of it which has not been already ſaid by Mr. Mede, Sir Iſaac Newton, Warburton himſelf, Biſhop Newton, Biſhop Hurd, and the other divines of equal eminence who have in ſucceſſion preached the lecture?

Viewing it in this light, the taſk preſcribed to Mr. Nares appears, indeed, in the higheſt degree arduous: he was called upon to do what is difficult in itſelf, and what had been already done by a Hurd and a Hallifax, a Bagot and an Apthorpe. He has, however, acquitted himſelf in ſuch a manner, that, though he has not perhaps made a ſingle diſcovery, his ſermons, in reſpect of utility, need not ſhrink from a compariſon with thoſe of any of the lecturers who have preceded him. Perfectly aware that the prophecies were not recorded to enable their readers to penetrate into futurity, he has judiciouſly confined himſelf to an examination of thoſe which are indiſputably accompliſhed; and though he has not neglected that part of the ſubject which relates to the *apoſtacy of Papal Rome*, he has not dwelt upon it, but taken a connected and chronological view of the principal prophecies relating to the Chriſtian church at large, and her adorable Head. To the ſerious reader ſuch a view muſt be more ſatisfactory, and even more intereſting, than the happieſt application of the myſterious predictions of the prophet Daniel, or the apoſtle St. John, to any of the errors, however palpable, either of the church or of the court of Rome.

"They who conſider the prophecies of the Old Teſtament, as ſo many predictions only, independent of each other, can never form a right judgement of the argument, for the truth of Chriſtianity, drawn from this topic; nor be able to ſatisfy themſelves, when they are confronted with the objections of unbelievers. It is an eaſy matter for men of leiſure and tolerable parts to find difficulties in particular predictions, and in the application of them. - - - - But it is not ſo eaſy a matter to ſhew, or to perſuade the world to believe, that a chain of prophecies, reaching through ſeveral thouſand years, delivered at different times, yet manifeſtly ſubſervient to one and the ſame adminiſtration of Providence, from beginning to end, is the

effect of art and contrivance, and religious fraud; that for so many ages successively proper persons should be found to carry on the cheat; and that none of them should have any interest to serve by betraying the secret, or so much honesty and regard to truth as to discover it."

Such was the reasoning of the admirable Sherlock * on the nature of the prophecies contained in the Old Testament; and it is equally applicable to those contained in the New. If the reader feel its force as we do, he will certainly admit that Mr. Nares has chosen the plan best adapted to render the Warburtonian lecture useful; and it is our business now to inquire with what success that plan has been executed.

As the lecture is, by the appointment of the founder, to continue for four years, and to consist of three sermons annually, the volume before us comprehends, of course, twelve sermons. In the first, which is preached from Isaiah xlvi. 9, 10. the learned lecturer draws a luminous comparison between the prophecies of Scripture and the oracular responses of heathen antiquity, shewing how difficult it was to practise imposition in the former case, and how easy in the latter.

"As a safeguard against these temptations (sooth-saying and divination), and for other purposes connected with the miraculous government under which the Israelites were placed, they were indulged with genuine prophets, authorized to declare the truth, and to deliver authentic predictions, many of which should speedily be ascertained by their fulfilment. "*When a prophet*," says the same lawgiver, "*speaketh in the name of the Lord, if the thing follow not, nor come to pass, that is the thing which the Lord hath not spoken, but the prophet hath spoken it presumptuously* †;" and the punishment of such presumption was not less than death. There was also a dilemma established, very powerful, to discourage false prophets: for if any one presumed to prophecy, in any other name than that of the Lord, he was to suffer death; and if he spoke *in that sacred name*, and spoke untruly, he was also to incur the same punishment. "*But the prophet which shall presume to speak a word in my name, which I have not commanded, or he that shall speak in the name of other gods, even that prophet shall die* ‡."

All prophecies relating to near events, which in scripture are very numerous, were exposed to this test; and the prophet, who in such cases had established his veracity, was entitled to credit when he foretold things distant. It is worthy of observation, likewise, that the prophets of Israel did not wait to be *consulted*, but often denounced, against their kings and princes, judgments which brought on them the indignation of those men; but how were predictions uttered among the Greeks and Romans? Did the priests and priestesses

"Make it hazardous as well as difficult, by pledging their lives on the truth of their predictions? Far otherwise: they had very different arts, and plans much more compatible with the consciousness of being extremely

* Preface to *The Use and Intent of Prophecy*. † Deut. xviii. 22.
‡ Deut. v. 20.

liable to error. In the firſt place, unleſs a direct appeal to their inſpiration was made, by a ſpecific enquiry, they uſually obſerved a prudent ſilence. They uttered no ſpontaneous prophecies. In ſaying nothing, they expoſed themſelves to no detection; and when they were obliged to ſpeak, it was always with ſufficient precaution. Obſtacles were firſt thrown in the way of enquiry. By magnificent and repeated ſacrifices it was rendered extremely expenſive. This preliminary had a double advantage; it leſſened the number of enquirers, and, at the ſame time, ſecured abundant advantage to the prieſts. Theſe ſacrifices were preceded, attended, and followed by many preſcribed ceremonies; the omiſſion or miſmanagement of any one of which was ſufficient to vitiate the whole proceeding. The gods were not at all times to be conſulted. Omens were to be taken, and auguries examined; which, if unfavourable in any particular, either precluded the enquiry for the preſent, or required further luſtrations, ceremonies, and ſacrifices; to purify the perſon who conſulted, and render him fit to receive an anſwer from the gods; or to bring their wayward deities to a temper ſuitable to the enquiry. The anſwers given at laſt, when no further means of evaſion remained, were frequently delutive, and capable of quite contrary interpretations; of which ſome ſtriking inſtances are very generally and popularly known. But this expedient was by no means neceſſary; ſince there were many other ſubterfuges, of equal or ſtill greater efficacy, for preſerving the credit of the oracle. If the event happened not to correſpond with the prophecy, it was diſcovered, when too late, that ſome indiſpenſable ceremony or obſervance had been omitted; that the gods were averſe to the enquirer; or that he had been not in a proper ſtate for conſulting them. If an evil event took place, when a good one had been promiſed, it was the fault of the enquirer. If, on the contrary, the reſult was more favourable than the prediction, this was owing to the interceſſion of the prieſts; to the prayers they had offered, or the rites they had performed, for propitiating the offended powers."

This is on the whole an excellent ſermon; and the ſecond is not inferior to it. From St. Luke xiv. 44. Mr. Nares proves, with great force of reaſoning, that prophecy is the bond of connection between the Moſaic and Chriſtian covenants; and traces the chain of prophecy relating to the Redeemer of the world, from the obſcure promiſe made to our firſt parents, to the death of Jacob bleſſing his children. As the two diſpenſations are thus cloſely connected, he takes occaſion to ſhew that neither of them can be thoroughly underſtood by him who has not carefully ſtudied both. Having obſerved how ſtrongly attached the Jewiſh Chriſtians were to the Moſaic ritual till the Temple was deſtroyed, and the local rites and ceremonies rendered utterly impracticable, he proceeds thus:

"A different ſtate of circumſtances produced, in later times, an error totally oppoſite; and Chriſtians, long diſjoined from any union or harmony with the Jews, have ſometimes been deſirous to forget even the neceſſary and unalterable connection of the two Revelations. Preſſed by the cavils and objections of infidels, ſometimes taken from the ſubſtance of the hiſtorical books, ſometimes from the prophecies, ſometimes from the application of particular paſſages; and latterly, from the weakeſt of all objections, that it had been cuſtomary to found a new religion upon an old one; preſſed by

theſe cavils, and, too ſupine, or too little informed, to find the proper anſwers to them, many Chriſtians thought it beſt, as an eminent writer ſays, 'to throw aſide the care of the *Jewiſh religion* (a burden which they could as ill bear as the rebellious Iſraelites themſelves), and try to ſupport the *Chriſtian*, by proving its divine original independently, and from itſelf alone.'

"This error aſſuredly received no countenance whatever, from the words or conduct of our Saviour; who declared expreſsly, that he came '*not to deſtroy the law and the prophets, but to fulfil them*;' who, for example's ſake, ſubmitted to all the ordinances of the law, which remained in force till his career was completed; and appealed deciſively to the ancient Scriptures, as foretelling his office and character; even pointing out on ſome occaſions, as we have ſeen, the particular paſſages, in which he was promiſed and deſcribed."

We have extracted this paſſage, not becauſe it contains any thing ſtriking or new, but becauſe it has been ſtrangely miſunderſtood by a critic, who ſeems to think that the author is of opinion, that the ritual part of the Moſaic law is ſtill in force! That his words will admit of no ſuch interpretation, a man of common ſenſe and common candour has only to read them to be thoroughly convinced.

Mr Nares adopts, with great propriety, Warburton's interpretation of the command given to Abraham to ſacrifice his ſon.

"*He ſaw the day of Chriſt, and he rejoiced to ſee it*—in the prophetic repreſentation afforded to him, by the commanded, but not completed ſacrifice of Iſaac. That Iſaac was made a type of Chriſt, is ſtrongly intimated by the inſpired writer of the Epiſtle to the Hebrews; and that Abraham, when tried and found completely firm, in faith and obedience, ſhould be made acquainted with the prophetic meaning of that type, is above all things probable. Thus was it, according to the Founder of theſe Lectures (whoſe opinion is ſupported by many ſtrong and able arguments), that Abraham ſaw the day of Chriſt, and was glad. That the action was originally intended to be ſignificant, and that Abraham knew it to be ſo (having in other inſtances been inſtructed by ſimilar means), is an opinion connected with the former, and by no means deſtitute of proof. It was, we are ſurely authorized to ſay, an action too extraordinary in itſelf, to be commanded without ſome hidden and more excellent meaning, than at firſt ſight appeared."

After reading with ſatisfaction this paſſage, we were ſomewhat ſurpriſed to find our author affirming (p. 52), that Jacob "had a more perfect view of the truth than had been given to Abraham, or to Iſaac." Abraham could, indeed, know nothing about Judah, who was not born till after his death, nor of the coming of Shilo before the ſceptre ſhould depart from his tribe; but, of the TRUTH as it is in Jeſus, we are perſuaded that no man had a clearer view than the father of the faithful, till the Apoſtles were enlightened by the deſcent of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecoſt.

By the appointment of the founder of this lecture, no prophecy could be conſidered by Mr. Nares, but thoſe which either relate to the origin of the CHRISTIAN CHURCH in its DIVINE FOUNDER, or point out the fate and fortune of his diſciples, and the CHURCH at large, after his departure. In the third ſermon, from 1 Peter, i. 10,

he proceeds in the former of theſe diviſions, from the death of Jacob to the journeying of the Iſraelites in the wilderneſs, and takes occaſion, in the courſe of the detail, to explain the nature of *types* as a ſpecies of prophecy, and to point out the force of that evidence which may be derived from them, for the truth and divine origin, as well of the Jewiſh as of the Chriſtian religion. On the ſubject of *types* it is well known to every theological reader, that much nonſenſe has been written, by thoſe who find Chriſt typified in every thing; but from this folly our author is perfectly free, without wandering into the other extreme of Anti-Chriſtian prejudice. This part of the ſermon we, therefore, recommend with confidence, as exhibiting a more ſatisfactory view of the types of the Old Teſtament than will readily be found elſewhere within ſo narrow a compaſs. It is too conciſe to admit of abridgment; but the reader will form ſome notion of the reaſoning from the concluſion to which it leads, which is, that—

"For Chriſtians, the beſt general rule is, *not to admit any circumſtance as typical, which has not been ſo repreſented by ſome inſpired perſon*; unleſs, indeed, it ſhould ariſe inevitably as a conſequence from other types, which *have* been thus eſtabliſhed, or is in itſelf ſo perfectly diſtinct, that it cannot eaſily be otherwiſe interpreted." (P. 84.)

The ſubject is continued in the ſame manner, and with equal ſucceſs, through the fourth, fifth, ſixth, and ſeventh ſermons; of which the fourth is from Acts xxviii. 2, 3; the fifth, from Heb. iv. 8, 9; the ſixth, from St. Luke, i. 32, 33; and the ſeventh, from St. John, i. 45. In theſe diſcourſes the learned lecturer, beſides giving, in the text of them, a brief but chronological abſtract of the prophecies of Amos, Hoſea, and Iſaiah, which more directly point to the perſon and ſufferings of our Divine Redeemer, explains the doctrine of double, or SECONDARY SENSES in prophecies, and ſhows that—

"Nothing can be more clear and obvious to the underſtanding than this; that if one PERSON or THING be appointed as a ſymbol, or repreſentative of another, a prophecy, which primarily applies to the one, may be expected to have alſo a further view and reference to the other. Whatever is ſaid of the ſymbol *muſt* be applicable, in ſome degree, to the object repreſented by it; and the expanſion of prophetic intelligence, therefore, from the one to the other, is (as far as we can underſtand prophetical ſuggeſtion at all) the moſt natural and eaſy proceſs that can be imagined." (P. 93.)

The eighth ſermon is from St. Matthew, xi. 13. and carries on what was begun in the ſeventh, by pointing out the moſt conſpicuous prophecies of the firſt advent of the Meſſiah, and of the effects of his preaching, which are to be found in the writings of Joel, Micah, Nahum, Zephaniah, Jeremiah, Habbakuk *, Daniel, Obadiah, Ezekiel, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi. This laſt prophet, as the author obſerves, appeared at the very time announced by Daniel, "for ſeal-

* So Mr. Nares ſpells the name of this prophet, though in the authorized verſion of the Old Teſtament, he is called *Habakkuk*.

ing the miſſion, and the prophecy;" after which a long interval of prophetic ſilence took place till the coming of the great harbinger of Chriſt, when it was reſtored in a greater meaſure than ever.

"What a ſolemnity does this give to the advent of Chriſt! After a ſilence of four hundred years, the voice of prophecy is renewed to announce his immediate approach. An Angel brings the tidings to the deſtined Mother of Chriſt; holy men and women are gifted with the Spirit of God, ſo long withheld, to declare the approaching mercy; and the Baptiſt, who, according to the words of Chriſt himſelf, was the Elias who had been promiſed, began to preach the doctrine, and give the baptiſm of repentance: '*to turn the hearts of the diſobedient to the wiſdom of the juſt—because the kingdom of God was now actually at hand.*'

"Let thoſe alſo obſerve, who have any inclination to cavil at the evidences of ſacred truth, how different every thing here is from any appearance of colluſion or fraud. While genuine prophets remained, their oracles were collected and preſerved in writing; when the ſpirit of prophecy was withdrawn, there were no pretenſions to it made. Had it ever been a fraudulent contrivance, how many means and motives were there always to continue it!—but when it had been confeſſedly at an end for ſo long a period as four hundred years, how impoſſible muſt it have been to revive it with ſucceſs! Among the heathens, there were always pretended prophets; and their authority was at one time equal to what it was at another: that is, well calculated to impoſe upon credulity and ignorance, but nothing more. Among the Jews, there were real prophets, or there were none. The few attempts that were made, to imitate the ſtyle of Scripture, and ſet up a pretence to inſpiration, were detected by the Jews themſelves; and the books entitled *Apocrypha* are a ſtanding proof how impoſſible it was to impoſe upon the leading teachers of that nation, by the moſt ſpecious imitations of holy writ!"

This extract is from the ninth ſermon, in which Mr. Nares, preaching from Galat. iv. 4. ſhews the uſes of prophecy to the Jews, expatiates on the miraculous circumſtances attending our Lord's birth, briefly touches on the character of the Baptiſt, gives ſome inſtances of the exact accompliſhment of the predictions of Chriſt himſelf; and thus concludes the firſt diviſion of his courſe.

The ſecond is compreſſed within the compaſs of three ſermons; on Hoſea, xii. 10; St. Matthew, xxiv. 35; and Rev. xix. 10; and treats of the prophecies which foretold,

"1. The rejection of the Jews, and the call of the Gentiles; 2d, the preaching of the goſpel throughout the world; 3d, the perſecutions of the Apoſtles and their converts; 4th, the deſtruction of Jeruſalem; 5th, the fate of Rome, and its converſion; 6th, the riſe of Mahomet and the Saracenic power; 7th, the riſe and character of Antichriſt; 8th, the converſion of the Jews; 9th, the general prevalence of the goſpel; and, 10th, the univerſal reſurrection, and day of judgment." (P. 270.)

Theſe topics are treated in the order in which they are here enumerated; but it is almoſt needleſs to add, that they are treated very briefly. On the riſe and character of Antichriſt, the writer of this review

review thinks differently from Mr. Nares, and the other preachers of the Warburtonian lecture; but where he has found so much to praise, he will not enter into a controversy on a subject, which occupies so very small a portion of a volume which he recommends with confidence to every serious reader. The style of these sermons is in general correct and perspicuous; but to some of them a fastidious critic will object a want of unity, which might have easily been preserved, and which should be preserved as much as possible in every discourse to be pronounced from the pulpit. Thus, in the seventh sermon, though the subject from the beginning to the end is prophecy, it is not prophecy of the same kind. The predictions considered in the first part of it are of that species which has a double sense, and relate as well to the kingdom of Israel as to the kingdom or church of Christ; whilst those which occupy the lecturer's attention in the latter part of the discourse are applicable to Christ and his church only. This sermon therefore should, in our opinion, have been divided into two; or it should have concluded with the prophecies of Solomon, and those of Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah should have been considered in the subsequent discourse. The reader will, however, be fastidious indeed, who shall suffer a trifling violation of one canon of criticism to lessen in his estimation a series of discourses, which, if they be not calculated to convert the unbeliever, are at least well adapted to confirm the faith of the Christian, and to give him just and dignified views of his religion.

Turnbull's *Voyage round the World.*

(Concluded from p. 156.)

IN the small island of Maura, Mr. Turnbull found a chief of Otaheite, who, for some misconduct, had been obliged to exile himself, and had taken refuge here. This man's case served to confirm Mr. Turnbull in an opinion, that the natives of Otaheite did not differ from those of the neighbouring islands so much in their personal character and dispositions, as in the nature of their government; and that the greater part of that seeming gentleness of manners, for which they have been remarked, must be imputed rather to the power and authority of their king, or principal chief, than to their natural habits. During his short stay in the Society Islands, he had an opportunity of seeing two

"Men who presented a most loathsome appearance. These were lepers, and seemed to have entirely lost their original skin; having the appearance of having been completely scalded from head to foot. These wretched beings, so much objects of abhorrence as well as compassion in the eyes of our people, were highly respected by their fellow-islanders, as they were priests, and both of them considered to be men of no common sanctity, *in their eyes.* [These three words might have been omitted.] It is indeed one of the most singular traits amongst these savage nations, that their religion

gion is not only tinctured, but apparently altogether compoſed of ſuch ideas, as the nature of man moſt powerfully abhors. Their idea of a god, that is to ſay, a power above nature, [which] they all acknowledge, is not that of a beneficent being, a common parent of nature, and a creator and benefactor of man. On the contrary, the Being they worſhip is the Being they fear—the Being to whom they impute the deſtruction of their canoes, and the danger, diſeaſes, and death of their chiefs. Their diſeaſes, and particularly thoſe of their prieſts, are ſacred, as the immediate effects of their power.

"From this general character, that the Deity is the offſpring of their fears, may be *induced* [deduced] the whole ſyſtem of their mythology, and the attributes of their divinities. Hence it is, the idea of horror being connected with that of deformity, that repreſentations of their gods are uſually either wholly ſhapeleſs or frightful."

A piece of ſuperſtition near a-kin to this is exhibited by the Turks, who hold in great veneration lunatics and madmen; but very different from the notions entertained by thoſe iſlanders concerning the perſonal qualifications of the prieſthood were thoſe of the Jews, and their inſpired legiſlator *.

Mr. T. having arrived at Whahoo, one of the Sandwich iſlands, entertains us with an account of a prince, for genius, valour, and political contrivance or reſource, as much diſtinguiſhed above his cotemporaries, as the moſt renowned conqueror in the circle of civilization.

"It is the wiſe policy of the king of Whahoo, Tamahama, that all thoſe who poſſeſs any authority or influence in the country, ſhould accompany him in his progreſs through his dominions, that he may have them conſtantly in his eye, and not leave them expoſed to the ſeductions and conſpiracies of his rival chiefs. Theſe are continually in purſuit of the means of throwing off his yoke, and rendering themſelves independent, as well of him, and of each other, as of their former king.

"For this precaution, moreover, he aſſigns his own experience, that once being abſent on an expedition to a neighbouring iſland, an inſurrection was fomented in his abſence, and that it was not without much difficulty that he could reſtore his authority. Since that time, he has never given the chiefs the ſame opportunity. It is the chiefs alone he dreads; for he obſerves, that there is no danger to be apprehended from the lower order whilſt ſeparated from the chiefs. From further information received here, Tamahama ſeems to be making rapid progreſs in his ſchemes of aggrandiſement. After having defeated the rightful ſovereign of this iſland of Whahoo, and all the kings of the iſlands to the eaſtward, he has forced him, after many ſtruggles, to take refuge in the iſland of Attowaie."

Our voyagers [for our author ſpeaks in the plural number]

"Leaving Whahoo, directed their courſe to another iſland to the leeward, called Attowaie [the ſame as that before noticed]."

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* See Deuteronomy, xxiii. 1.

It

It was not long before ſome of the iſlanders came off to them.

" Among theſe iſlanders, the arrival of an European veſſel is an event of the firſt political importance—an event in which king and people are equally concerned. The Otaheitans receive us with the ſatisfaction of friends. The Sandwich iſlanders have reached more than one gradation in the ſcale of civilization; and underſtanding their own intereſt, conſider their European viſitors as the importers of new arts, and new ſkill and induſtry, into their country. The voyage of Vancouver has made a moſt eminent and permanent change in the ſituation of the Sandwich iſlanders. They have taken a leap, as it were, into civilization; and if their progreſs keep any pace with the vigour of their firſt ſtart, they will not be long conſidered as ſavages.

" In the interval of waiting the arrival of our promiſed viſitors, we fitted up our temporary marines, and made every other preparation that might make a favourable impreſſion on the minds of the natives.

" As ſoon as it was made known on ſhore, that a ſhip had appeared off the coaſt, with an intention to ſtop and take in ſupplies, the commander in chief, or generaliſſimo, was diſpatched to welcome us in the name of the king. This perſonage was particularly inquiſitive reſpecting the ſituation of affairs at Whahoo, and the ſtate of the preparations made by Tamahama for the threatened invaſion of the iſland.

" The melancholy truth reſpecting this ſubject being reported, the generaliſſimo enquired frequently, whether their Engliſh viſitors had on board any fire-arms, or gun-powder, in expectation that they would furniſh them with at leaſt a ſmall ſupply of each. This, however, they declined in the gentleſt and moſt ſatisfactory manner poſſible.

" The exiled king of theſe iſlands bears a character infinitely ſuperior, in a moral point of view at leaſt, to that of his more powerful rival, Tamahama. The fidelity of former dependents, in a ſeaſon of misfortune and fallen power, is ſurely no doubtful teſtimony of the virtues of a conquered king. And the virtue of this chief, if meaſured according to this ſtandard, is great indeed. He appeared to be beloved almoſt to adoration, and his authority from influence ſeemed to be increaſed, almoſt in the ſame proportion as his actual power had become diminiſhed. He laboured under a great depreſſion of ſpirits, and could not refrain complaining of certain reports propagated by ſome Engliſhmen ſettled under his enemy, Tamahama, which had prevented ſeveral veſſels from touching at his iſland for refreſhments. He declared himſelf to be a faſt friend to the Engliſh, and produced very favourable certificates of his conduct, from ſeveral captains with whom he had had dealings. From ſome Engliſhmen who had followed his fortunes for ſeveral years, this unfortunate chief had acquired ſuch an acquaintance with our language, that he was able to underſtand and anſwer any plain queſtion put to him. This appeared the more extraordinary, as even the natives of Otaheite, notwithſtanding their greater opportunities, have hitherto made ſo little progreſs in our langnage, that even the proper names of thoſe with whom they were beſt acquainted, are hardly to be known in their mouths. The king was as anxious as the other chiefs had been to receive accounts of the enemy's motions, and equally diſtreſſed with the information we afforded, as being fully aware of the inevitable conſequences of an attack by Tamahama. He brought off a preſent of yams, plantains, and a couple of hogs, aſſuring us that every thing in the iſland

iſland was at our diſpoſal. He profeſſed a high regard for the Britiſh nation; and, as a proof of it, had taken to himſelf the name of KING GEORGE, and to his children, who were very numerous, he had given thoſe of the preſent Royal Family of England, beginning with the Prince of Wales, and deſcending to the youngeſt branches of the Family.

"Obſerving the deep deſpondency into which the king's affairs had thrown him, our humanity *averted* [recoiled] from the idea of ſuffering him to have any ſpirits, or intoxicating liquors—a preſent he doubtleſs expected, though he had the ſingular modeſty to make no mention of it.

"This unhappy man, who, from every thing we ſaw and heard, is well deſerving of a better fate, had already ſuffered ſo much from the ambition and power of Tamahama, that he was about to adopt one of the moſt extravagant reſolutions that can be conceived.

"The Europeans who had attached themſelves to his fortunes, ſome of whom were carpenters, blackſmiths, &c. were now, with their offſpring, a numerous body. As their laſt reſource, they were conſtructing a veſſel ſuited to the attempt of a long voyage; and, in the event of an expected invaſion, they propoſed to eſcape from the iſland, and ſeek a refuge from the cruelty of their enemy in ſome one of the iſlands which they have heard are interſperſed in the main ſea. They are wholly ignorant of the method of meaſuring a ſhip's courſe, or of the other neceſſary branches of navigation. A compaſs, indeed, they poſſeſs. Their intention, in the firſt place, is, to ſteer to the weſtward, in the hope of reaching ſome part of the coaſt of China; or, by keeping their wind to the ſouthward, to fall in with Otaheite, or ſome other of the Society iſlands. Extravagant as this ſcheme of emigration may appear, in people ſo deſtitute of the proper means of executing it, yet it is not improbable that by ſuch enterprizes, in different periods of time, the moſt diſtant iſlands may have been peopled, and a ſimilar language and mode of life eſtabliſhed in quarters which ſeem to have no poſſible means of intercourſe."

This reflection of Mr. Turnbull's is not more ingenious than probable, and important in the hiſtory of population and the migration of arts. In the hiſtory of colonization, we ſometimes find the new ſettlers to have been actuated by a certain reſtleſſneſs of diſpoſition, more or leſs incident to all men; a love of change, and a ſpirit of adventure. But the grand excitement to migration, and diſtant colonization, is, want and oppreſſion. It is not to be wondered at, that a people, well acquainted with land and marine geography, ſhould betake themſelves, when overborne by tyranny, to their ſhips; as the Dutch intended, if they had been overwhelmed, in their conteſt for liberty, by the Spaniards. But the cup of ſuffering is ſometimes ſo bitter, that families and whole tribes of men, impelled by deſpair, have encountered the moſt formidable difficulties and dangers, rather than ſubmit to the doom that awaited them in their own country. The courage of deſpair was tinctured with ſentiments of religion, while they fled from the injuſtice and oppreſſion of men, and, amidſt the pathleſs ocean, or inhoſpitable deſerts equally pathleſs, committed themſelves, in their frail little barks, and without compaſs, to the mercy of heaven. Thus it was that individual families have, in ſmall open boats, made their eſcape to India, from ſanguinary revolu-

tions

tions in the peninſula beyond the Ganges. Thus it is ſuppoſed, on the ground of tradition, and other remains, that the Nicobar iſlands were peopled from the coaſts of Pegu. Thus ſparrows, ſwallows, hares, and other animals, when hardly beſet by hawks or dogs, will fly for refuge to barn-yards, barns, and even dwelling houſes. All animals fly from evils certain and imminent, though in their flight they muſt encounter others diſtant and contingent.

When the time arrived that the unfortunate king of Attowaie was to take his departure, Mr. T. enquired what they could do to expreſs their ſenſe of his many favours? To this he anſwered, that if they were really his good friends, they would ſupply him with whatever they could conveniently ſpare of iron, canvas, and other neceſſaries for his new veſſel. Our countrymen, having a good ſtock of iron, furniſhed him with as much as he thought ſufficient for his purpoſe, together with ſome tools; crowning their preſents with a few looking-glaſſes, a quantity of Engliſh cloth, and a ſmall ſupply of gun-powder.

"Theſe articles this good man accepted, with the moſt affecting demonſtration of genuine heartfelt gratitude, and entering his canoe, he requeſted us, on our return home, to mention his hard fate to our countrymen."

Our voyagers, during their ſtay at Attowaie, obſerved that the king and his fighting general made uſe of ſpitting boxes inlaid with the teeth of their enemies ſlain in battle: a practice which, as Mr. T. notices, confirms the report of their having certainly been cannibals at the time of their being diſcovered by Captain Cook. The Aborigines of America make, of the ſkins of their enemies, pouches for holding their tobacco. The Hottentot warriors are ſaid to adorn themſelves with the dried entrails of their enemies.

Mr. Turnbull was greatly ſtruck with the dexterity of the Sandwich iſlanders in diving.

"Although they have excellent canoes in abundance, the natives, both men and women, often diſpenſe with the uſe of them, and ſwim to veſſels approaching the iſland, with no other ſupport than a thin feather-edged flue of wood. With eaſe they play a thouſand tricks, tumbling and plunging one another into the water, then riſing to the ſurface and plunging again, like ſo many inhabitants of the deep. Some of them, who were employed by us to aſſiſt in certain operations of the ſhip, would dive in fifteen fathoms of water, and clear the cable, however entangled in the jagged rocks at the bottom. To ſhew their wonderful expertneſs in diving, they would ſometimes go aloft to our top-gallant-yard, then plunge into the water, paſs under the ſhip's bottom, and again appear on the oppoſite ſide, tumbling and ſporting like ſo many water-fowl. We once attempted to turn this qualification to advantage, by employing ſome of the natives to nail ſome parts of the copper-ſheeting on the ſhip's bottom. They would remain not leſs than three or four minutes under the water, come up to the ſurface to breathe, and return to their work. This, had we not witneſſed, we ſhould not readily have believed."

Mr. T. having departed from the Sandwich iſlands, arrives a ſecond

cond time at Otaheite, where, among a variety of occurrences very amuſing, we are entertained with an account of his attentions to the Royal Family, the moſt characteriſtic features of which are deſcribed. He neglected nothing that could teſtify his grateful ſenſe of their kindneſs. He ſent them a daily allowance, as well for themſelves, as for their various attendants, who, unleſs on the occaſions of public feaſtings, have ſeldom an opportunity for ſuch indulgences. This liberality, however, coſt him leſs than they imagined. He ſent them always the moſt indifferent parts of his hogs, ſuch as he could not ſalt, and therefore, from the heat of the climate, could not have kept. The moſt favourite part among the Otaheitans was the head.

"Ottoo uſed frequently to invite me, under one pretence or other, to attend him at his houſe. I uſually found him loitering, with all the indolence of an oriental, and his queen as idle and vacant as himſelf. Upon theſe viſits, he pointed to the graſs as my ſeat, and throwing himſelf by my ſide, entered into familiar converſation.

"Her majeſty was equally condeſcending. She never failed, upon theſe opportunities, to rummage my pockets, and appropriate to herſelf whatever ſhe might find. The queen of Tiaraboo (her ſiſter, and married to Ottoo's brother) was equally troubleſome, and examined me with equal care. After I had learned that this would be their conſtant practice, I uſually carried about my perſon ſome trifling article, that the Royal ſiſters might have the pleaſure of pilfering it."

Mr. Turnbull entertains his readers with "outlines [in the characters] of the royal family." Though we ſee but little in anecdotes of the court of Otaheite, the following is acceptable, as deſcriptive of general as well as royal manners. Avidity, which is the principal feature in the character of the Otaheitans, is alſo that of the royal family.

"Pomarrie, though, from his open and affable manners, he was conſidered as the father of his people, had no wiſh ſo near his heart as that of fleecing them to the very ſkin. This avidity, indeed, ſeemed common to every branch of the royal family. Ottoo was ſtill ſuperior in this reſpect to his father, and neither of them [ſays Mr. T.] *had any bounds*. [This, however, we ſhall conſider, not as an Iriciſm, but pleonaſm.] In a word, the general characteriſtic of the whole family is avarice. It is a ſubject of reaſonable aſtoniſhment to ſee the exceſs to which this paſſion is carried. Their ſtores conſiſt of articles which they have received from the firſt viſits of European ſhips, and which have rarely ſeen the light ſince they were firſt there depoſited. Their hoards are never broken: their pleaſure is to have, and not to enjoy. One of the miſſionaries, an eaſy, good-natured man, had ſuffered himſelf to be wheedled out of the whole of what he had poſſeſſed in the world; and, the clothes on his back excepted, had nothing left but a blanket. Pomarrie happened to meet this good Samaritan at my houſe, and ſeeing that he had ſtill this blanket left, attached himſelf to him, and contrived to get it. I remonſtrated with Pomarrie upon this act of ſelfiſhneſs, but all in vain: Pomarrie thanked him for the blanket, and, without further words, ſent it to his ſtore.

"The only inſtance of generoſity I ever experienced or ſaw whilſt in theſe

theſe ſeas was from the king of Attowaie, who ſupplied us with cocoa nuts, fish, and vegetables, without ſtipulating as to price or conditions, ſending on board all that we required, and leaving remuneration entirely to us. I hope it is needleſs to add, that we took care that he ſhould loſe nothing by his generoſity.

"Edeah, having to provide for a multitude of ſtrangers from the mottos *, availed herſelf of ſome of the native boys in our ſervice, *ſecretly* to pilfer our pork. It was ſome time before I could diſcover by what means my ſtock was ſo viſibly diminiſhed; but, at length, having diſmiſſed ſome of the boys under ſuſpicion, and menaced others, I extorted their confeſſion, that they had been employed by Edeah. They moreover ſhewed me an opening, formed by the removal of two poles under their bed, through which the ſtolen articles had been conveyed: and as the ſides were greaſy, there was no reaſon for any doubt of their veracity. I do not heſitate to ſay, that the whole iſland is but a receptacle of thieves."

The ſhip Margaret, of which our author was ſupercargo, in her voyage to Baſs's Straits, had now been abſent two months, inſtead of three weeks, the utmoſt period he had allowed for her longeſt poſſible abſence. At length the fatal remains of the Margaret, converted into a punt, were diſcovered by the natives, about three leagues to the northward of the iſland. The punt having been built ſquare, from the crew's having been unable to bend the planks, could ſail only before the wind; and, inſtead of reaching Matavia, had much difficulty in making the moſt leeward part of Otaheite.

"Had they miſſed this, they muſt, to all appearance, have inevitably periſhed; for, within an hour afterwards, the wind blew a tempeſt, accompanied with thunder and lightning, and torrents of rain, during the following night. Pomarrie, much to his credit, no ſooner heard of their arrival, than he haſtened to their aſſiſtance, leſt the enemy [the Attahourans] ſhould avail themſelves of their weakneſs, and plunder them of the little that they had yet left. He got a hog and bread-fruit roaſted, and ſpared nothing to alleviate their ſufferings, ſleeping in the houſe to prevent theſts. Pomarrie did not forget, a few days after, to demand his preſents. It was not ſo with the Miſſionaries [who had alſo contributed all in their power to their relief]. There was no ſelfiſhneſs here. They were animated with no other impulſe than that of Chriſtian charity, which extends its arms to the miſerable, and binds up the broken reed.

"Being too much fatigued and worn out, the crew were unable to attend divine ſervice in the chapel of the Miſſionaries. Mr. Jefferſon, therefore, with that anxious piety which diſtinguiſhes him, preached a thankſgiving ſermon in the houſe.

"We had now ſeen enough to know that the very comfort of our ſtay at

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"* Theſe mottos are ſmall ſandy iſlets, almoſt level with the water edge, and about twenty miles to the north of Otaheite. They abound with fiſh of every kind. Hither the Otaheitans, and inhabitants of the neighbouring iſland, reſort in their ſummer excurſions. Theſe are their watering places, and, at thoſe times, the ſcene of noiſy and general feſtivity."

Otaheite

Otaheite depended upon our being able to pay for it. The apparent generosity of these people is but another kind of policy. There was another circumstance which embarrassed us. Otaheite, within the last two years, had become so well supplied with European articles, that they [meaning the natives] had now become very difficult; and as our stock was now rendered by our wreck very limited, we were not unfrequently at a loss to keep up the market. On account of these circumstances, we formed a resolution to make a trial of one of the neighbouring islands; and Eimeo was fixed on for that purpose."

The voyage to Eimeo is described, and a variety of occurrences there related; among which occurrences the most striking is, preparations for an expedition to Attahoura.

"In the beginning of August 1803, Ottoo the king [of Eimeo as well as Otaheite], his brother Tenein Avouna, king of Tiarabo, Pomarrie, Edeah and her warriors, Patia, the brother of Pomarrie, and Aw-wow, his sister, together with ten Europeans, and all their adherents and fighting men, departed on this mighty expedition, leaving behind them some old women and fishermen to forage for the army. It was believed, that, in the previous solemnities, no less than ten or twelve human sacrifices would be offered to the gods on this occasion. Their great idol Or was kept in the Mona of Attahoura. The coronation of Ottoo could not be complete till it was celebrated here; and the Attahourans, considering him as an usurper, had hitherto delayed it. The royal army having now arrived in the enemy's country, the rebels, as they were pleased to term them, affecting ignorance of their intention, as gravely replied in professions of friendship. It is not easy (Mr. T. observes) to conjecture what would have been the event, had either party ventured a battle; but the party of Pomarrie had now so increased in numbers, that the Attahourans were daunted at their very sight. Part of them accordingly submitted; and as, by this desertion, the remainder became too weak to venture any further contest, they were compelled to follow their example. The whole country was thus subdued. Pomarrie immediately dispossessed the principal chiefs of their lands, and divided them among his own friends. Edeah had a great part of these forfeited domains, and Innamatooa, the widow of Oripiaho, the brother of Pomarrie, experienced in the same manner the royal munificence."

After the unfortunate circumstance of the loss of the Margaret, the prospects of our voyagers at Otaheite were very gloomy. Having saved little or no property from the wreck, it became a subject of serious concern in what manner they should subsist. It was, moreover, uncertain how long they should be compelled to remain in their present situation. To attempt building exceeded their means. They had lost their carpenter at the Sandwich islands; and it was in vain to expect any assistance from any other of their people.

"Our command and authority over them had vanished since the wreck; every one now followed his own way, and appeared so attached to their present indolent life, that they seemed to have no intention of quitting it. Of the whole of our former crew, the Cook and Mate, the Captain, and myself, were alone united in a common cause, that of returning to our native country. Our blacksmith had set up for himself amongst the natives' and

and was in a very fair way of making a livelihood, even in the worſt of times. It was unfortunately not ſo with us; we knew it, but could not help ourſelves.

"The bleſſing of Providence, however, again interpoſed at a time we had almoſt ceaſed to hope; for after we had been about three months in this ſuſpenſe of hope and fear, one afternoon a ſhout of 'Te-pahia, te-phara! A ſhip, a ſhip!' reſounded through the iſland, and arouſed us into new hopes. Hope and fear now alternately prevailed; our fears ſuggeſted that the Captain might have ſome poſſible objection; that he was going to China, or ſome other more circuitous voyage. It ſo happened, however, that the goodneſs of Providence was not incomplete: the ſhip was going to the very place to which of all others we wiſhed to go, to Port Jackſon. We agreed with him for a paſſage; and in our preſent ſituation, laying aſide all indignation at the conduct of our ſhip-mates, we divided with them our remaining property.

"There had been ſo many ceremonies to get through at Allahoura, that the buſineſs had not been finally ſettled upon the ſhip's arrival. The intelligence of this event, however, brought Pomarrie to Oparie to prepare his preſents. He had got his hogs in the canoe, and was half-way to the ſhip, when he was ſeized ſuddenly with a fit, and, falling with each hand on the ſide of the canoe, expired. The poor fellows in the canoe immediately paddled back as faſt as poſſible to his houſe at Oparie, where, in her way likewiſe to the ſhip, Edeah had by this time arrived. Meſſenger after meſſenger was diſpatched to the Miſſionaries, and their ſurgeon: they were earneſtly intreated to haſten to the houſe of Pomarrie. The ſurgeon happened at this time to be on board the ſhip, taking a farewel leave of us upon our departure. We earneſtly adviſed him, ſhould he find Pomarrie ſtill alive, not to venture to preſcribe for him, as, in the caſe of his death, the natives would not fail to impute it to poiſon, and perhaps avenge his ſuppoſed murder on the Miſſion. It has been before mentioned, that they imputed the death of Terinavoura to the prayers of the Miſſionaries; and that they are perſuaded that the prayers of theſe holy men have this kind of ſacred witchcraft. Under ſuch impreſſions, it may readily be conceived, that the ſituation of the Miſſionaries is not the moſt enviable in the world.

"Not one moment was loſt on the part of the ſurgeon, who, on his arrival, found the whole of the family in the deepeſt anguiſh and diſtreſs. The brother of Pomarrie was deaf to all conſolation, and could ſcarcely be withheld from ſuicide. All was anguiſh and confuſion; ſome imputed his death to one cauſe, others to another; but the opinion of the majority was, that he had offended the gods, though they could not agree by what means, except by his human ſacrifices. They had recourſe to one more ſingular remedy: the body of an human victim, which he had ſacrificed about three weeks before, was brought and ſtretched proſtrate under him, in the hope of appeaſing the offended divinity.

"The ſudden and inſtantaneous death of this man was, not very unreaſonably, imputed by ſome to the enormity of his crimes, as well in this as in other inſtances. Should theſe impreſſions continue, the moſt beneficial effects may be expected. None had more cauſe of regret in this event than the Miſſionaries, to whom Pomarrie had ever continued a faſt friend. They wrote to the Captain of the ſhip, requeſting him to remain till the morning, that the ſenſe of the ſociety might be taken in what manner to act upon

this unexpected occurrence. The Captain thought that he should lose nothing by compliance, and therefore consented.

"The following morning Mr. Jefferson came to the ship, and informed us, that, after several consultations, the Society had resolved to confide in the promises of Edeah, who said that every thing would doubtless proceed as before. Mr. Jefferson, at parting, requested me to desire their friends at home not to be over-solicitous as to their safety. These were his words, as far as I can remember them.

"The Otaheitans will, doubtless, rack their brains to discover some probable cause of the death of Pomarrie; and, after other conjectures, will perhaps impute it to some magical power from the ship. Should any one among them make this assertion, I have no doubt that he would be immediately seconded by his brethren, so general is their belief of supernatural agency. On the decease of his son, about a month before, they were firmly persuaded, that he had been charmed to death by the Missionaries. They are, moreover, convinced, that the greater part of their plagues and diseases flow immediately from the shipping.

"The loss of the Missionaries in Pomarrie is, I fear, irreparable; but this is saying as much as can be said in his favour; for, if he consented to a joint partnership with the Missionaries, he fleeced his own subjects most unmercifully. Though this man possessed at least equal abilities with his father in things of a political nature, he was never able completely to subdue his enemies. They considered his government as an usurpation, and therefore never missed an opportunity of molesting his quiet. His affairs were thus not unfrequently in a very tottering situation.

"The mutineers of the Bounty were a resource, as fortunate as unexpected, for the circumstances of Pomarrie. Being well skilled in the art of dissimulation, he had little difficulty in gaining them to his party, and with them an invincible advantage. His promises were unbounded; he had no scruple to promise, because he had no intention to perform. With the assistance of these *heroes* (for such were they considered by the natives), he was enabled to carry every thing before him, and, in a very little time, was acknowledged as king of the whole island.

"Since this time there have, doubtless, been many risings and revolts; but, upon the whole, Pomarrie has prevailed over them all. Nor was this the only time that he was indebted for his safety to his European friends, as in the late war he would have been effectually ruined, had it not been for the assistance of the English, who happened to be at this time upon the island. The enemy, hitherto victorious through their assistance, were now compelled to sue for peace, and the affairs of Pomarrie again re-established.

"In his prosperity, he was insufferably proud towards his enemies; and, as a necessary effect of the same sanguine temperament of mind, was equally dejected in his adversity. A proof of this has already been mentioned, in his determination to abandon the island, upon a partial defeat. Nor was this the only instance, as under similar circumstances he frequently applied to Captains to convey him from the island.

"The most singular trait in his character, as a savage, was a species of prudence and foresight; a mind which was capable of forming and adhering to a certain proposed rule of conduct. His conduct to the Europeans, and countenance of the Missionaries, was the effect of his political genius.

Resisting

Reſiſting the firſt impulſe, which would have tempted a ſavage to plunder them without formality and delay, he formed a more refined plan, that of encouraging and going ſhares in their preſent and future ſtock. This as effectually anſwered their purpoſe as his."

Ottoo, when his father died, was ſtill at Attahoura, and no intelligence had been received from him, from the time our countrymen ſailed from Eimeo. It appeared to Mr. T. that, in the death of Pomarrie, the royal family ſuſtained a loſs that muſt be irreparable. With the exception of Pomarrie, none of them appeared to poſſeſs ſufficient abilities, either to manage their own people, or to awe their enemies.

Mr. T. proceeds to give an account of the pious and unwearied zeal of the Miſſionaries, and the ſuperſtitious, ſtupid ignorance and unbelief of the Otaheitans; various circumſtances relating to the ſtate of the Miſſionaries; particular cuſtoms among the Otaheitans, ſuch as the excluſion of the women from eating with the men; their cleanlineſs, and attention to dreſs; inſtances of their ſimplicity; their employment; indolence; curioſity; food, and manner of cooking; the utility of the bread-fruit tree; their various methods of fiſhing; houſes; furniture; form of government; influence of the prieſts; diſeaſes; cauſes of the gradual decreaſe of population; inſtances of their general propenſity to theft; their extreme affability to ſtrangers; evenneſs of temper; generoſity towards one another; freedom from jealouſy with regard to their women; and human ſacrifices.

"The ſuperſtitions, extravagancies, and religious obſervances of theſe people, are beyond all deſcription ridiculous. They ſeem to have no analogy, either in heaven or earth, and muſt baffle every inveſtigation as to their origin. The Miſſionaries tell them, that the God of Britain is the God of Otaheite, and the whole earth; and that it is from this Being that they receive their hogs, bread-fruit, and cocoa-nuts. This the Otaheitans flatly deny; alleging that they poſſeſſed all theſe articles long before they had heard of the God of Britain. They ſay, if this God reſide in heaven, why do not our people bring him down (that is, nearer and more viſible to the eye), as they do (with their optical glaſſes) the ſun and the moon?"

On the ſubject of the groſs ignorance, and obſtinate blindneſs, of the Otaheitans in matters of religion, Mr. T. very judiciouſly obſerves, that—

"It is, perhaps, expecting too much of them in their preſent ſtate, to expect any thing of a Chriſtian faith from a people ſo rude and barbarous. Perhaps the Miſſionaries, according to a trite proverb, have begun at the wrong end, preaching the myſteries of their religion, before they have laid a foundation, by inſtructing them in its ſimple elements. It is, doubtleſs, wrong to temporize, or falſify, in any of the ſlighteſt points of faith, the religion of truth; but there is ample room for the exerciſe of diſcretion, in adapting their leſſons to the natural capacities of their pupils. It is not neceſſary to teach them all, in circumſtances under which they cannot comprehend one half. The doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation are not for Otaheitan underſtandings." (Vol. III. p. 9.)

But, in page 106, he says—

"We cannot, however, take our leave of Otaheite without expressing an opinion, that the slow progress of the Missionary efforts [meaning of the success of their efforts, for their efforts were not slow] has been principally owing to a collusion between the royal family, the chiefs, and the priests. They most probably are afraid of losing their influence over the minds of the people, should the introduction of Christianity be encouraged, and therefore set their faces against it stoutly. Had not this been the case, I think it is almost impossible but some converts must have been gained; for the virtues of these men speak intelligibly to the natives."

Between these two passages there appears to be a degree of inconsistency; though it is not impossible but our author, who appears to be a man of great candour and sincerity, has some mode of reconciling them in his own mind. Were the chiefs ever so favourably disposed for the admission, are either chiefs or people in such a state of civilization as to be capable of receiving the leading doctrines, of revealed religion? It is to the first opinion of Mr. T. that we subscribe. The Danish Missionaries in Lapland, supported for centuries by the influence and munificence of the Danish kings, have not been able to introduce Christian knowledge and faith among the stupid and idolatrous Laplanders. It is impossible to introduce the tenets of the Christian religion among a people wholly unacquainted with metaphysical or abstracted terms. It is not to any other portions of the Scottish Highlands, than such as have become acquainted with the English language, at this day, that the peculiar doctrines of Christianity have penetrated. The historian, Cunningham, describing the Highlanders at the end of the 17th century, says, that their religion was a mixture of Christian rites and druidism. Mr. T. himself appears to be fully sensible how necessary a degree of knowledge and refinement, or abstraction, is to the introduction and acceptation of Christianity, when he pours forth the following pious ejaculation or prayer:

"May the dawning of civilization, the PRECURSOR of CHRISTIANITY, dispel the mist that pervades their minds, and shortly illumine not only them, but the whole race of Adam in every quarter of the habitable globe!"

A strain of rational devotion runs throughout the whole of these volumes.

It is deplorable to observe, among the Otaheitan savages, a degree of enervation, effeminacy, and preternatural voluptuousness, equal, if not exceeding any that we read of in Rome under the worst of the emperors, or in the old empire of China at this day.

"There are a set of men in this country, whose open profession is of such abomination, that the laudable delicacy of our language will not admit it to be mentioned. These are called by the natives Mahoos. They assume the dress, attitude, and manners of women, and affect all the fantastic oddities and coquetries of the vainest of females. They mostly associate with the women, who court their acquaintance. With the manners of the women,

men, they adopt their peculiar employments, making cloth, bonnets, and mats: and ſo completely are they unſexed from their manhood, that, had they not been pointed out to me, I ſhould not have known them but as women. I add, with ſome ſatisfaction, that the encouragement of this abomination is almoſt ſolely confined to the chiefs. Ottoo himſelf is a monſter of debauchery. Their pollution in this reſpect beggars all deſcription. My mind *averts* [recoils] from dwelling upon an object [ſubject] which recals ſo many images of diſguſt and horror.

"Whilſt among them I ſaw two of their Mahoos; the one in the train of Pomarrie; the other pointed out to me as he paſſed my houſe. Obſerving me to fix my eyes on him, with a look expreſſive of my abhorrence, he ſneaked off without ſpeaking. Their wickedneſs is enough to call down the immediate judgment * of Heaven; and let me not be thought too preſumptuous, if I aſſert, that the hand of God is viſibly amongſt them. Unleſs their manners change, I pronounce that they will not long remain in the number of nations. The ſword of diſeaſe is no leſs fatal than the waters of a deluge †.

"With regard to health, peace of mind, and vigour of body, the Miſſionaries ſtand on high ground, and muſt appear to them [the Otaheitans] to be under the immediate protection of Heaven, while they [themſelves] fall around them like rotten ſheep."

Theſe and a variety of other obſervations and reflections on the cuſtoms and manners of the Otaheitans are introduced—not certainly according to the happieſt arrangement—during the paſſage from Eimeo and Norfolk Iſland back to Port Jackſon—not when the author was in Otaheite.

During his ſecond reſidence at Port Jackſon, he was much pleaſed to find ſeveral improvements, which he mentions, that had been made during his abſence, and not leſs to find that a ſhip had arrived from Europe. The preſent ſtate of our colony in New South Wales is deſcribed, and an account given of the prices of labour, and uſual modes of payment; and a character is drawn of the different deſcription of ſettlers. The long expected Calcutta arrived from India, for the purpoſe of diſcharging her cargo at Botany Bay, and taking on board a lading of country-wood for naval purpoſes. The Calcutta having completed her repairs and cargo, Mr. Turnbull, and the Captain [of the Margaret], who had been the companion of his toilſome enterprize, embarked on board that ſhip, in very ill health, brought on by a long courſe of hardſhip and fatigue, and were ſafely landed again in England, after an abſence of four years and thirty-one days. As the Calcutta came round by Cape Horne, Mr. Turnbull himſelf performed a voyage round the world; but the written

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* Mr. Turnbull believes in a particular Providence—an excuſable, perhaps, a fortunate error. But no fire or brimſtone, from Heaven, falls, in the preſent ſtage of progreſſive grace, on a Sodom and Gomorrah.

† True: but this is a natural, not a judicial conſequence. It is a general law, not a particular or immediate interpoſition of Providence.

voyage does not complete the circle. The voyage of the Calcutta having been already given to the public, " he does not delay the concluſion of his narrative, by a tedious repetition of circumſtances with which the public are already acquainted." This was judicious; and it would have been well, if our ſenſible, inſtructive, and entertaining author had on all occaſions been as careful to avoid repetitions: repetitions not only of what had been before obſerved by Capt. Cook, Capt. King, and others, but of what had been noticed by himſelf. For what concerns the repetition of what had been publiſhed by others, there is, however, ſome excuſe. They relate to facts very ſtriking and important; and ſuch facts deſerve to be authenticated by the concurrent teſtimony of different travellers. Nay, the reader who is not over-faſtidious, in conſideration of the various information and inſtruction afforded by Mr. T. will not paſs too ſevere a cenſure on every repetition made by our author himſelf. For example: we are not offended at being told again and again, that the " Otaheitans are apparently ſofter in their manners than the Sandwich iſlanders, but far behind them in their ſkill in the arts of life, and in their deſire to acquire inſtruction of every kind." Theophraſtus conſiders it as a matter of wonder, that in Greece, lying under the ſame climate, &c. there ſhould nevertheleſs be ſuch a variety of characters. This is a very curious queſtion. The diverſity, and indeed oppoſition, of character between the Otaheitans and Sandwich, and other, iſlanders, appeared an intereſting circumſtance to Mr. T. as the diverſity of character among the Greeks did to Theophraſtus. The ſuperior civility of the Otaheitans is attributed, on very probable grounds, by our author, to the eſtabliſhment of a regular kingly government. Was there ever a period when the natives of Greece were in as ſavage a condition as the natives of New Holland, or the Society, Friendly, and Sandwich iſlands? May a period be ever expected, when that corner of the world, preſerving ſtill a diverſity of national characters, ſhall be as enlightened and refined as ancient Greece and the Grecian iſles? The author, in his preface, diſclaims all pretenſion to excellence in the ſtyle and diction of the work: he aims only at being intelligible, and not barbarous. There is nothing offenſive in the general tone of his ſtyle: it is perſpicuous, and, what we conſider as not a little praiſe, unaffected, though we cannot ſay, in every inſtance, conſonant to the rules of grammar. In punctuation, which, as has been juſtly obſerved by Lord Kaimes, is in fact a part of Engliſh grammar, it is egregiouſly deficient: a defect which is not only a great blemiſh in reſpect of beauty or elegance of compoſition, but which leads, ſometimes, to a momentary heſitation as to the meaning. But the moſt important defect in this work is, its want of natural and juſt arrangement. Yet with all its redundancies and defects, which may be remedied in any future edition, it is a valuable preſent to both learned and unlearned: to readers of books of all deſcriptions:

An hiſtorical Account of the Black Empire of Hayti: comprehending a View of the principal Tranſactions in the Revolution of Saint-Domingo; with its ancient and modern State. By Marcus Rainsford, Eſq. late Captain Third Weſt India Regiment, &c. &c. 4to. Pp. 500. Plates. 2l. 2s. Cundee, Chapple. 1805.

MAJOR RAINSFORD has here given to the public an account of the important ſettlement of Saint-Domingo, more ſuccinct, perſpicuous, and complete, than any which has yet been publiſhed. In his firſt chapter, he takes an hiſtorical view of the iſland, from its diſcovery by Columbus, towards the cloſe of the 15th century, (when it was called Hayti, by the natives) to the year 1789, when it had arrived at a very high pitch of proſperity. In the ſelection of his materials for this introductory part, he has evidently conſulted the beſt authorities, and his narrative of facts, and alſo his obſervations upon them, are ſtrictly impartial. The account of the Buccaneers, in which that extraordinary body of men are reſcued from the calumnious imputations of Archenlotz and Raynal, and exhibited in a fair and proper light, without partiality on the one ſide or prejudice on the other, is highly intereſting. Having given a very accurate and full deſcription of the Spaniſh and French parts of the iſland, he ſays, at the cloſe of the chapter.

"To deſcribe the productions of the French colony of Saint-Domingo would be enumerating [to enumerate] thoſe of the whole of the Antilles. Their principal were, however, as have been before deſcribed, ſugar, coffee, cotton, indigo, and cocoa or chocolate. To theſe may be added a little tobacco.

"In return for the uſeful droves of cattle for ſlaughter and labour; ſmoked beef, bacon, ſkins, and the greateſt part of the money received from Spain, they ſupplied their neighbours with wearing apparel, hardware, and guns.

"The population was conſidered at about 40,000 whites, 500,000 negro ſlaves, and 24,000 free people of colour; and the average exports, as ſtated by M. Marbois, the intendant of the colony, amounted to 4,765,129l. ſterling.

In his ſecond chapter, Major Rainsford traces the origin of the revolutionary ſpirit in Saint-Domingo. He aſcribes it firſt to the vaſt diſproportion between the number of ſlaves and that of their maſters; and ſecondly to the vices and immorality of the latter.

"Thus an ignorance, in the firſt inſtance, of human nature, a blindneſs to actual circumſtances, and a want of individual virtue in the coloniſts, gave birth to the revolutionary ſpirit in St. Domingo; which, inſtead of being created, was only fanned into flame by the occurrences which took place in the relations of the colony with the mother country, on the change of its government."

He conſiders that the operation of the ſame cauſes, that is, a vaſt diſproportion of ſlaves to their maſters, great profligacy in the latter, united to the want of a ſtrong, wiſe, and effective police, will in all

caſes produce the ſame effect. But he does not undertake to ſpeak of the ſlave-trade in terms of condemnation.

"He is an enemy to it, only, as he is to every employment which offers an undue power to many, not the moſt unlikely to abuſe it; and as a principle hoſtile to humanity and inefficient in its purpoſes. He is aware that the ſituation of colonial ſlaves at preſent is, in many reſpects, ſuperior to that of the labourers or the artizans of Britain. The firſt have not, indeed, the command of receſſion, neither have the two latter the power; for if they ceaſe from labour, they ceaſe from its advantages. When it is conſidered that the artizan muſt wander in ſearch of employment, and ſubmit to the optional reward of thoſe who may chuſe to employ him, after encountering diſtreſs in conſequence of repeated refuſals; the ſlave will appear more happy, though ſometimes enduring corporeal puniſhment too ſevere, whoſe food and reſidence is [are] provided without anxiety; and who is certain of employment, or of the ſame proviſion.

"Nor would the writer be ſuppoſed to ſanction the means which have been uſed to procure an abolition of the trade, which he diſapproves; much leſs the emancipation of thoſe ſlaves already in the colonies. Of the latter ſtep, the humanity would be equally problematical, with that which would dictate the liberation of the poor bird long nurſed in domeſtic comfort, to flutter a little while in ſolitary freedom, a ſtranger to his own kind, and to the winds of heaven.

"What has been ſaid, has ariſen from a conviction that, but for the circumſtances already deſcribed, a revolutionary ſpirit would not have ſo long been ſpread throughout Saint-Domingo; and to point out the beacon to the colonies of the Britiſh nation in the ſame ſea, with that which has produced an illuſtration of theſe poſitions; and a picture ſo full of terror; on this more will be ſaid, and with greater propriety, at the end of this work.

"Flaſhed with opulence and diſſipation, the majority of planters at Saint-Domingo had arrived at a ſtate of ſentiment the moſt vitiated, and manners equally depraved; while, injured by an example ſo contagious, the ſlaves had become more diſſolute than thoſe of any Britiſh iſland. If the maſter was proud, voluptuous, and crafty, the ſlave was equally vicious, and often riotous; the puniſhment of one was but the conſequence of his own exceſſes; but that of the other was often cruel and unnatural. The proprietor could bear no rival in his pariſh; and would not bend even to the ordinances of juſtice. The creole ſlaves looked upon the newly imported Africans with ſcorn, and ſuſtained, in their turn, that of the mulattoes, whoſe complexion was browner; while all were kept at a diſtance from the intercourſe of the whites. Nor did the boundaries of ſex, it is painful to obſerve, keep their wonted diſtinction, from the ſtern impulſes that affect men. The European ladies too often participated in the auſterity and arrogance of their male kindred; while the jet-black beauty, among ſlaves, though ſcarcely a native of the iſland, refuſed all commerce with thoſe who could not boaſt the ſame diſtinction with herſelf.

"Such was the ſituation of the inhabitants of St. Domingo in the beginning of the year 1789, prompt to any movement that ſhould create an effervescence among them, or afford the one party an opportunity of oppoſing the other; yet, while private ſculs were eager for an opportunity to burſt into public clamour, the ſituation of the country was ſuch as hath been deſcribed, like the verdant boſom of a volcano, unconſcious of the flame about to

to burſt; the people were chearful, the markets ſo plentifully ſtocked, the lands loaded with production, and the colony, if '*overwhelmed with debt*,' it may be admitted to be ſaid, flouriſhing every where."

When things were thus ſituated the revolution, begun in France, produced its correſpondent effects in Saint-Domingo. But the negroes were particularly ſtimulated to action, by the inconſiderate efforts of a ſet of pſeudo-philanthropiſts in Europe, (of whom Major Rainsford ſpeaks much too favourably) ſelf-called *Les amis des Noirs*.

"The unhappy eloquence with which the miſeries of ſlavery were depicted by them, and the forcible points of view in which all the errors of their opponents were placed, as well as the enthuſiaſm which always accompanies the exertions of ardent minds, were certainly the cauſe of bringing into action, on a broad baſis, that ſpirit of revolt which only ſleeps in the enſlaved African, or his deſcendant, and which has produced on their ſide, and on that of the white inhabitants of the colonies, ſuch horrors as 'make ev'n the angels ſleep."

Major Rainsford is of opinion that ſome judicious conceſſions to the people of colour, at this critical period, would have ſecured the iſland from the horrors of ſuch a revolution. But we muſt confeſs we ſee no reaſon for concurring with him in that opinion. When five hundred thouſand ſlaves were puffed up with notions of ſelf-importance, infected with the revolutionary frenzy, and rendered ſenſible of their own phyſical ſtrength, we do not ſee how they were to be prevented from the accompliſhment of their purpoſe by any thing but coercive meaſures, and a ſuperior military force.

In the third chapter is a detailed account of the mad proceedings of the French government; of the conduct, or rather miſconduct, of the ſucceſſive governors of Saint-Domingo; of the atrocities of the French commiſſioners; of the arrival, and operations of the Engliſh; of their evacuation of the iſland; and of the conſequent eſtabliſhment of its independance. This chapter contains a great deal of curious and intereſting matter. Amidſt the acts of barbarity remarked during the dreadful conflicts of which this ill-fated colony was deſtined to be the ſcene, none was calculated to excite greater indignation and diſguſt, than the cowardly, cold-blooded murder of the Chevalier Mauduit, who commanded the regiment of Port-au-Prince. This gentleman was an active and enterpriſing officer, a zealous royaliſt, and exceſſively beloved by every man in his regiment. An enemy, of courſe, to all revolutionary bodies, he had, on a particular occaſion, taken the colours from the national guards of the iſland, by whom he was, conſequently, holden in abhorrence. On the arrival of two regiments from France, infected with the revolutionary ſpirit, the diſcontent of the national guard became louder, and Mauduit's own regiment began to view their commander with an eye of ſuſpicion. He perceived the ſtorm riſing, and prudently reſolved to avert its fury, if that were poſſible, by having recourſe to conciliatory meaſures.

"Colonel Mauduit prepared, as the firſt effort of conciliation, for a reſtitution

titution of the colours to the national guards, the unfortunate cauſe of the alienation of his own troops; and propoſed, if they would ſupport him, to carry them with his own hands, at their head to the church, in which they ſhould be depoſited: he harangued his grenadiers to that purpoſe, and they promiſed to ſupport him with their lives On the ſucceeding day he put his propoſed plan in execution, before the whole community of Port-au-Prince. A conſiderable murmur took place, but means were taken by the citizens (amongſt whom it is ſaid were ſome he had moſt injured) to prevent any accident.*

"He had replaced the colours, and was turning, no doubt, to meet the gratulations of his troops, which had ſo often cheered him, when one of them commanded him aloud to aſk pardon of the national guards *on his knees!* He ſtarted with indignation at the propoſition, and intending to offer them his life, rather than his honour, expoſed to them his naked boſom. In an inſtant, an hundred bayonets ſeemed to vie with each other which ſhould wound the deepeſt, and he fell gored all over, while ſcarce an arm of the number he had ſo often made happy, was raiſed to ſave him, or a voice among thoſe ſo often exerted in his praiſe, to bid his ſpirit reſt.† The ſpectators, however unfriendly they might have been to the diſeaſed, were petrified with aſtoniſhment and diſguſt. Not contented with the extinction of life, this unmanly and treacherous number, whoſe conduct is, it is hoped, unparalleled, not content with deſtroying his houſe, and every thing belonging to him, gratified themſelves with mutilating the dead body of their once loved commander; and by a thouſand diabolical contrivances, rendering diſguſting in death a form which through life had been always beloved and honoured, and ſometimes reſpected and admired. This wretched regiment met the proper fate of all ſuch daſtardly perpetrators. They were deſpiſed even by the ſoldiery whom they meant to oblige, compelled to lay down their arms, and ſent priſoners to France, where, in ſome ſhape or other, puniſhment failed not to await them."

Never ſurely did any body of men, of the military profeſſion, who muſt be ſuppoſed to have higher ſentiments of honour than any of the lower claſſes of ſociety, and the French army, under the monarchy, were commanded by men who made honour their idol, and whoſe example, therefore, might naturally be ſuppoſed to have a very beneficial effect on their men; never, we ſay, did any body of men ſo diſgrace themſelves by the moſt abominable acts of mutiny, rebellion, and murder, as the ſoldiers of France, who, notwithſtanding their courage and

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* "The exertions on this occaſion of the brave Beanſobre were too ſtriking to be paſſed in ſilence. He had been ſtruck with a ſhot, when protecting the Colonial Committee, in the affair for which Mauduit was now attempting an extenuation; yet with a generoſity not often equalled, he was among the foremoſt to ſtep forward on the preſent occaſion, and was wounded by a ſabre in defending the life of Mauduit."

† "Two officers named Galiſeau and Germain, to their honour, did not deſert their Colonel till the laſt moment, but their exertions were of no avail; and the indignation of the ſoldiers being at its height, there was no time for preparation."

their

their ſucceſſes, will be tranſmitted to poſterity, as objects of execration to every man of honeſty and feeling.

The negroes appear to have vied with the French ſoldiers, in acts of barbarity, many of which were exerciſed againſt thoſe maſters who had treated their ſlaves with the greateſt attention, kindneſs, and humanity. Two or three of theſe acts are here recorded, but the author ſeems to have been diſguſted with his taſk, therefore, ſomewhat abruptly, concludes it thus.

"It ſerves few of the purpoſes of hiſtory to deſcribe the various modes of torture which occurred to the ſavage inſurgents, or to relate accounts of the groſſeſt violations of virgins and pregnant women, in the preſence of their dying huſbands, or parents; much it is to be regretted, that civilized ſtates ſhould ever find it neceſſary to render torture of any kind familiar to vulgar minds, for they are exhibitions that live in the memory, and ſteel the heart againſt thoſe affections which form the grandeſt boundary of our nature. There is reaſon to fear that the perpetrators of thoſe horrid deeds had been witneſſes to the ridicule of miſery in others who ſhould have evinced themſelves ſuperior to ſuch conduct, by the godlike attributes of mercy and benevolence; the licentiouſneſs of their intercourſe with the female ſlaves, could leave no impreſſion to prevent a retaliation on the occaſion, with objects, too, of ſuch ſuperior attraction, alas! unhappily for themſelves."

Major Rainsford here ſeems to inſinuate that, but for the tortures inflicted on the negroes by the Europeans, the former would not have acted ſo barbarouſly by the latter. Surely he has not made himſelf converſant with the hiſtory of ſavage ſtates, or he would have known that ſavages want no inſtructions from more poliſhed nations in the diabolical arts of torture. A peruſal of the Hiſtory of Dahomy alone would ſuffice to convince him that his notions of ſavage humanity are erroneous indeed. In the laſt ſentence he forgets himſelf, by making the negro ſee with the eyes of an European; the ſuperiority of attraction admitted by the latter would, unqueſtionably, be denied by the former. His indignation, however, againſt the conduct of the planters is perfectly juſt; we only diſſent from the inference which he draws from it. To counterbalance, in ſome degree, theſe ſavage horrors, the author recites, on the authority of Mr. Edwards, an inſtance of extraordinary fidelity and attachment, diſplayed in the conduct of one of the revolted negroes, to the family of his maſters.

One of the moſt extraordinary circumſtances attending this extraordinary revolution was that the perſons in power at Saint-Domingo were early apprized of all the plans of the negroes, and, of courſe, might have prevented the execution of them; yet, from ſome unaccountable reaſon, they neither diſcloſed, nor acted upon, ſuch knowledge. A man, named Ogé, who was a leader in the inſurrection, was, at a very early period, apprehended and condemned; he begged a reſpite, which was granted, when he diſcloſed the whole of the plans of the inſurgents, but he was nevertheleſs executed, and his confeſſion was

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ſuppreſſed. Upon its ſubſequent diſcloſure, when it was too late to profit by it, it was found to be ſtrictly correct.

" It was during the ſtay of the Commiſſioners, or immediately before their arrival, that, in conſequence of a reſolution of the General Colonial Aſſembly, copies of the depoſition of Ogé, given during the twenty-four hours he was reſpited, were obtained from the regiſter of the Council of the Cape; but not till they had been imperiouſly demanded. By theſe it was found, that if, inſtead of being ſuppreſſed, as before mentioned, the evidence had been promptly and deciſively acted upon, all the horrors which had blackened the colony for the laſt nine months might have been, to a great degree, if not entirely, prevented. He aſſerts upon oath as follows:

' That in the commencement of the month of February preceding, if the rivers had not overflowed their banks, there would have been a riſing of the people of colour, who were to have fallen on the town of the Cape in conſiderable numbers; that they were then re-united, to the number of eleven thouſand men, from Mirabalais, Artibonite, Limbé, Ouanaminthe, Grand Rivière, and other parts of the colony; that, at the ſame time, one hundred men of colour left the Cape, for the purpoſe of joining their band: that he was certain that the authors of this revolt were the Declains, free negroes of Grand Rivière, now under accuſation; Dumas and Yvon, free negroes; Bitozin, a free Spaniſh mulatto; Peter Godard, and John Baptiſte, his brother, free negroes; Le Grand, and Touſſaint Mezeau, free negroes; Peter Mauzi, Ginga Lapaire, Charles Lamadieu, the Sabourins, John Peter Goudy, Joſeph Lucas, free mulattoes; and Maurice, a free negro; all under accuſation.

' That the grand movers of rebellion down the coaſt were, Daguin, under accuſation, rebel, of Mirabalais; Pinchinat and Labaſtille, under accuſation; that the moſt violent partizans of the revolt, who had moved in large parties, were thoſe who had ſhone in the environs of St. Mark, and who were endeavouring to excite it again; that there were at that moment many people of colour in different quarters, who were very reſolute to maintain their projects, notwithſtanding the numbers of thoſe who had loſt their lives by engaging timidly in the cauſe; that he remembered at preſent the name of one only, the ſon of La Place, a free quadron, whoſe ſiſter he had ſeen in the priſons, and quitting Limbé to go and raiſe recruits in the quarter of Ouanaminthe; that theſe recruits and riſings of people of colour were continued there, under the countenance of Fleury and Hirondelle Viard, deputies of the people of colour to the National Aſſembly, the one reſiding at Mirabalais, and the other in the quarter of the Grand Rivière.

' That aſſemblies were yet held in the ſubterraneous paſſages near la Crête a Mareau, and the diſtrict of Giromin, in the pariſh of Grand Rivière; and that if he could be conducted to theſe places, he would ſtrive hard to take the chiefs of the rebellion; that the agitation in which he found himſelf under in his preſent circumſtances, did not permit him to enter into more circumſtantial details; that he would acquaint us with the remainder when he became a little more tranquil; that it occurred to him at the moment, that Caſtaing, a free mulatto of this dependency, is not concerned in any manner in the preſent affair; but if his brother Ogé had followed the perſuaſion of Caſtaing, he would have been brought into much greater extremities.'

" The

"The Commiſſioners for taking the depoſition then ſtated, that Ogé having heard the above read on the day after it was made, and, being ſworn, he confirmed it in every reſpect, adding, 'that the two Didiers, brothers, free mulattoes, whom he had ſeen but that time, and that John Peter Gerard, and —— Caton, free mulattoes of the Cape, were employed to gain a party of the Grand Rivière; that they kept together by day, and diſperſed at night.'

"They mention, that, on being confronted with James Lucas, who had accuſed him of threatening to hang him, he ſaid, that 'it was neceſſary to tell them why Lucas had not inſiſted upon his explaining the reaſon of that threat, leſt it ſhould coſt him his life: that the ſaid Lucas had been always foremoſt in every perpetration of horror, the moſt active ſeducer of the blacks, and promoter of maſſacre, and had of neceſſity been reſtrained by him ſeveral times, on occaſions which he repeated.

'That Fleury, Periſſe, and L'Hirondelle Viard, arriving in the colony, the two former were landed at Acquin, and left at the houſe of Dupont, but that L'Hirondelle Viard proceeded to the Cape.

'That La Place, whoſe father was then in priſon for raiſing recruits at Ouanaminthe, was of the number of thoſe who marched from Limbè againſt the Cape; that, to avoid ſuſpicion, he went to Port Margot, where he lay concealed for ſeveral days; that the ſenior La Place had told him, he knew his neighbour, who was a white man, would not inform againſt him, though he knew all his proceedings: that he was ſure Girardeau, then in priſon, would declare nothing, becauſe he was too much his friend to betray him; and that if he were denounced, he ſhould be forced to denounce many others, both in Limbè and other quarters.

'That he had omitted to mention, on the ſubject of Lucas ſeducing the ſlaves, that Peter Maury had brought thirty ſlaves to Lucas, whom Ogé and his brother ſent away again, the people of colour ſaying that it was a future ſupply: that he had, on the ſame occaſion, a diſpute with the talleſt of the Didiers, whom he wiſhed to fight with piſtols, on account of his treaſons; that he had ſeen a ſhort note, written by Peter Maury to John Francis Teſſiers, by which he ſignified, that he continued to collect together, and that the negro Coquin and the Caſtaing, armed with piſtols mounted with ſilver, and a ſhort ſword which Maury had furniſhed, watched every thing that paſſed, and gave an account every night to Maury: which was all that the accuſed could declare at preſent, conjuring the Commiſſioners to be perſuaded, that, if it were poſſible to obtain mercy, he would willingly expoſe himſelf to every danger to arreſt the chiefs of the rebellion, and that in all circumſtances he ſhould prove his zeal and reſpect for the whites.'

"He was, however, as before ſtated, immediately at the cloſe of the confeſſion, hurried to execution, and the whole ſuppreſſed, without any proceeding upon it whatever.

"The matter of the depoſition has been particularly given, for this reaſon: it exhibits the *manner* of the rebellion, and the quality of its leaders, who appear to have been well acquainted, with its various manœuvres; and if the principal perſons mentioned, particularly Pinchinat, Caſtaing, and Viard, had been arreſted at that time, they would have been prevented forming their attack of the 25th Auguſt. Thus does party, which, as before deſcribed, in dividing the colony of St. Domingo, unconſciouſly act againſt itſelf, and want of political foreſight ruin the beſt intentions."

Sorry

Sorry are we to ſay, that St. Domingo is not the only place in which the ſpirit of party is ſuffered to ſubdue the ſpirit of patriotiſm, and in which public good is rendered ſubſervient to private views! The fate of this valuable but devoted colony was finally ſealed, by the madneſs of the mother country, diſplayed in the emancipation of all the ſlaves. This produced the moſt immediate and moſt intolerable confuſion. The Commiſſioners called in the aid of the revolted negroes: a general ſlaughter of the whites enſued; and the Commiſſioners themſelves, alarmed at the ferocity of their new allies, fled to their ſhips.

"Nor were the mulattoes leſs annoyed and vexed, when they found that the exertions againſt the whites, which they ſuppoſed confined to their intereſt only, extended to the liberation of their own ſlaves, on whoſe labour their fortunes depended; they now perceived that they had been made the tools of the *Amis des Noirs*, in obtaining their darling object, the emancipation of the whole body of negroes. There is [are] an enthuſiaſm *and* a fanaticiſm in politics, as well as religion, equally dangerous in both, which, with an unaccountable bigotry to their projects, muſt have led the ſociety to urge ſuch exceſſes. They could not have originally deſired the effuſion of human blood only, as hath been aſſerted, however ſtrongly they might afterwards have imbibed a ſpirit of revenge againſt their opponents. Such is the ſpirit of jacobiniſm, endleſs, and undirected by any ſocial principle.

"The effect of the declaration of freedom to the ſlaves themſelves, was ſuch as might naturally be expected from a people of their character and condition. A conſiderable part remained in their former ſituation with their maſters, in preference to a change; a greater number joined the party of the Commiſſioners, who manumitted them; and, perhaps, the greateſt number, fearful their liberty would not be permanent, RETIRED IN SAVAGE BODIES TO THE MOUNTAINS."

It was at this diſaſtrous period that it was reſolved, by ſome of the chief proprietors, to claim the protection of England, as the only poſſible means of reſtoring peace and order to the colony. This meaſure, however, had many and formidable opponents; and the inhabitants of the iſland were divided in their ſentiments and reſolutions on the ſubject. Still, had the Britiſh Miniſtry acted with deciſion, and ſent out a force adequate to the magnitude of the object in view, there appears to be little doubt but that the ſovereignty of this important ſettlement might have been ſecured to their country. But a ſmall body of troops only were diſpatched; and, from the reception which theſe met with, and the ſucceſs which, at firſt, they experienced, we are confirmed in our opinion, that, with the aſſiſtance of the French royaliſts, a much larger force would have accompliſhed their object. Many acts of heroic bravery were performed, as well by the Britiſh as by their brave allies, during the occupation of the iſland, all the principal places in which were ſpeedily reduced. Moſt of theſe acts are here recorded, in a manner that does honour to the narrator, as well for his feeling as for his impartiality. But all was in

in vain; the blood ſhed, and the treaſure laviſhed, upon the occaſion, were fruitleſs and unavailing; and, after ſucceſſive governors had retired in diſguſt, General Maitland was ſent out in the ſpring of 1798, who finally evacuated the laſt poſt remaining in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, in the following Auguſt. We have heard, that the loyal proprietors made application to this officer, to know whether it was his intention to evacuate the iſland or not, with a view to diſpoſe of their property previous to the evacuation; that they were aſſured he had no ſuch intention; and that, in conſequence, all their property was loſt. We have alſo heard of ſome other inſtances of groſs miſconduct on this occaſion; but as Major Rainsford is wholly ſilent upon the ſubject, we muſt ſuppoſe that we were miſinformed.

"Such was the end of this diſaſtrous enterprize, which had for five years fed the hopes and vanity of the Britiſh empire, to which had been latterly ſacrificed many valuable lives, and an extravagant portion of the public money. That it was undertaken with too little conſideration, muſt be always acknowledged; for, if the Britiſh Miniſtry only meant, by finding employment for the French Commiſſioners in St. Domingo, to prevent the ſeat of war from being carried to Jamaica, they might have effected this purpoſe, without entering upon ſo large a field, or ſacrificing the lives and intereſts of a number of brave and unfortunate coloniſts; and if the conqueſt of the iſland was ſincerely intended, the means furniſhed were contemptible, in compariſon even with the exertions of the inhabitants. It is, however, probable, that no force which could have been furniſhed, would have been ſufficient to cope with the power of the revolted negroes; and if the Britiſh colonies in the Antilles have been ſaved by theſe means, it is only to be lamented, that their ſalvation coſt ſo dear, in proportion to their advantages to the country."

On this point we muſt differ from the intelligent author, as we think it evident, from his own ſtatement of facts, that a force fully adequate to the reduction of the iſland, with the aid of the royaliſts, might have been ſent from this country. We do not pretend to ſay how far it was either practicable or adviſeable to ſend ſuch a force; but it appears to us, that either ſuch a force ſhould have been ſent, or no force at all; though, certainly, without knowing the motives by which Miniſters were actuated, and without being in poſſeſſion of the knowledge which influenced them, it would be very raſh to decide on their conduct. Shortly previous to the evacuation, the black chief, whoſe name became afterwards ſo juſtly celebrated, Touſſaint L'Ouverture, roſe into notice.

"He had throughout," ſays Major Rainsford, at the cloſe of the third chapter, "been the moderator of all the different factions in the iſland, and was every way fitted for its legiſlator, as well as [for] its chief. He was, indeed, one of thoſe characters who invite the principle of an elective monarchy, but which are too rarely found to adviſe its univerſal adoption. His character will be more fully given in the enſuing part of this work; it is at preſent ſufficient to ſay, that, although he deteſted the conduct of the French Commiſſioners, he protected their office from indignity, and ſhielded them

them from vengeance; he relieved the planters from the intolerable tyranny of the Commiſſioners; he ſaved the French army from puniſhment, too often not greater than their guilt; and would not permit the encreaſed cruelty of retaliation on the Britiſh forces, for the conduct of allies, which even the coloniſts regretted to adopt. He ſaved the life of General Laveaux, who acknowledged the fact with gratitude; and his intercourſe with General Maitland was of the nobleſt kind. Notwithſtanding theſe exertions, in which he had to combat with the natural prejudices of many of his followers, he preſerved their confidence in his integrity, and their obedience to his wiſhes, and was hailed, with great juſtice, by common conſent, as the perfecter of the *independence of St. Domingo.*

In the ſucceeding chapters we have an account of the manners and cuſtoms, with other intereſting particulars, of this extraordinary Black Republic; but our review of it muſt be reſerved for another number.

(To be concluded in our next.)

An Inquiry into the permanent Cauſes of the Decline and Fall of powerful and wealthy Nations, illuſtrated by four engraved Charts. By W. Playfair, Author of Notes and Continuation of an Inquiry into the Nature and Cauſes of the Wealth of Nations, By Adam Smith, L. L. D. and Inventor of Lineal Arithmetic, &c. deſigned to ſhew how the Proſperity of the Britiſh Empire may be prolonged. 4to. Pp. 314. 1l. 11s. 6d. Greenland and Norris, Finſbury Place.

AN inquiry into the permanent cauſes of the decline and fall of power and wealth, is, at leaſt, as curious and important a queſtion as that relating to their nature and origin: as the diſcoveries of anatomy are, at leaſt, as important to the recovery or prolongation of health, as thoſe of phyſiology. The very choice of this ſubject would produce a very favourable impreſſion of the author, if he had not already given ample proofs of original genius, and a capacity equally adapted to minute attention and general views: to both diſcrimination or analyſis, and combination; to judgment and invention.

The ſubject of political economy is preſſed on the conſideration of men in every period of advanced civilization, in every country. The nature and preſervation of the government is intimately connected with the ſtate or condition of the people; and the proſperity of the one, rightly underſtood, is the proſperity of the other. The truth of this is evinced by the maxims of the Chineſe empire, the oldeſt in the world. Political economy occupied the cultivated and ſublime minds of Xenophon, Plato, Ariſtotle, and Cicero. The infant colonies of Greece were wont to apply to philoſophers for forms of government, or what we call conſtitutions; which embraced the education of youth, the formation of the habits and manners, and the management of the paſſions, of the people. The ſenators of Rome were profound politicians. The reſult of the noble hiſtorian Salluſt's inquiries concerning

cerning the nature and cauſe of power, and of its decline and fall, is given in a laconic and moſt admirable manner. "Dominion is eaſily preſerved by the ſame means through which it was acquired."* This is alſo the moſt general or grand reſult of Mr. Playfair's Inquiries. Hardihood, poverty, neceſſity, induſtry, frugality, and, in a word, manly and ſevere virtue rouſed into action and habit, conſtantly advances and makes conqueſts on riches, indolence, luxury, and enervation. This, it may be ſaid, being a truth inconteſtible, generally known, and univerſally admitted, requires not any illuſtration. It is indeed univerſally admitted, but not generally known. To know things is, to know them in their circumſtances, cauſes, and conſequences. The aſſent of the mind to any propoſition without this kind of knowledge is vague and inaccurate; and, as divines ſay of a certain vague kind of faith, can never operate any thorough or lively conviction, far leſs any practical efficacy.

The diffuſion of knowledge and of commerce, ranging every corner of the world without a ſtate, and penetrating every receſs within, has occaſioned ſuch a fermentation and maſs of exertion in our times, that the labour of the economiſt is infinitely greater than when the topics of economy were nearly confined to forms of government, education, including the uſe or management of religion, manly and military exerciſes, and agriculture. An immenſe revenue muſt now be raiſed for the ſtate, and productive employment found for various claſſes of manufacturers whoſe ſubſiſtence depends on continued induſtry. The comfort of the people depending on various induſtry, muſt be conſidered and provided for, or they will, if not riſe into commotion, and inſurrection, languiſh, decay, or migrate, at leaſt from free governments, into other countries. This complicated taſk is not above the powers of Mr. Playfair. He traverſes this extenſive field with an obſervant and penetrating eye. He diſcovers new objects, and places objects already known in new lights. He paints from nature and life, and we recognize and feel the juſtneſs of his ſketches. He reſembles the moſt excellent writers of memoirs among the French, who make us perſonally acquainted with the perſonages of whom they write; and bears a very cloſe analogy to Biſhop Burnet, who, in the Hiſtory of his own Times, introduces us to fire-ſides and familiar converſations. His obſervations are arranged in a natural and clear order: the very firſt conſideration in all compoſition. His reaſoning is generally ſound, and his concluſions, on the whole, are juſt and important. Where, perhaps, they are not quite ſatisfactory, we acknowledge that he has even by what may appear doubtful, prepared the way for farther inveſtigation. He is, withal, very ſlovenly in his dreſs. All affectation of ornament in works of this kind is not only improper, but pedantic and ridiculous. The ſtyle of every work, however, ſhould be perſpicuous; to which grammatical arrangement is ſo neceſſary, that where it is wanting the diction ſometimes becomes either wholly unintelligible,

* Nam imperium facile iis Artibus retinetur quibus initio partum eſt. Salluſt. Bell. Catelin. Cap. I.

or not to be understood without difficulty. But, if his figures be not always beautifully, or indeed decently "clothed with skin and flesh, they are fenced with bones and sinews." He sometimes presents us with nuts in the husk, but they are worth the peeling as well as cracking.

Mr. Playfair very justly observes, in his preface, that—

"If it be of importance to study by what means a nation may acquire wealth and power, it is not less so to discover by what means wealth and power, when once acquired, may be preserved. The latter inquiry is, perhaps, the most important of the two; for many nations have remained, during a long period, virtuous and happy: but there is no example of happiness or virtue residing amongst a fallen people."

Having briefly illustrated this position, he goes on—

"From this almost universal picture we learn that greatness of nations is but of short duration. Though the career of prosperity must necessarily have a termination amongst every people, yet there is some reason to think that the degradation which naturally follows, and has always followed hitherto, may be averted."

He should have said, and no doubt meant to say, *for a time averted*; for he afterwards admits, page 6, that to speak of the absolute perpetuity or prolongation *ad infinitum* of national wealth and power is only a convenient fiction of language, like that of the contract between the king and the people, and the constitutional laws of a country being of permanent and eternal duration: and he also admits that neither virtue nor happiness is to be found among a fallen people.

But whether the degradation in question may, or may not be averted, "is the subject of the following Inquiry; which, if it is of importance to any nation on earth, must be peculiarly so to England—a nation that rises still, beyond the natural level assigned to it by its population, but whose earnest wish ought to be directed rather to preservation than extension; to defending itself against adversity, rather than seeking still farther to augment its power." It was necessary for our author, in his preface, to observe also, that it is not concerning accidental causes that he enquires, but only concerning such as are permanent, that is, causes that are constantly acting and produce permanent effects. There arises on the present subject an important, and to speak in parliamentary language, a previous question, namely, whether "states have necessarily by the constitution and nature of things the same periods of infancy, manhood, and decrepitude, that are found in the individuals that compose them?" Mr. P. thinks with Mr. Burke—he might have added Professor Ferguson, and other writers—that they have not. And indeed, he justly observes, that if they had the present inquiry would be of no sort of utility.

"It is of no importance to seek for means of preventing what of necessity must come to pass: but if the word necessity is changed for tendency or propensity, then it becomes an inquiry deserving attention; and, as all states have risen, flourished, and fallen, there can be no dispute with regard to their tendency to do so. There can be no difference of opinion concerning the utility of an inquiry into those mighty events that have removed wealth and

and commerce from the Euphrates and the Nile to the Thames and the Texel? Does not the ſun riſe, and do not the ſeaſons return to the plains of Egypt and the deſerts of Syria, the ſame as they did three thouſand years ago? Is not inanimate nature the ſame now that it was then? Are the principles of vegetation altered? or have the ſubordinate animals refuſed to obey the will of man, to aſſiſt him in his labour, or to ſerve him for his food? No; Nature is not leſs bountiful, and man has more knowledge and more power than at any former period: but it is not the man of Syria or of Egypt, that has more knowledge or more power. There he has ſuffered his race to decay, and along with himſelf his race has degenerated. If an inquiry into the cauſes of the revolutions of nations is more imperfect and leſs ſatisfactory than when directed to thoſe of individuals and of ſingle families, if ever it ſhould be rendered complete, its application will at leaſt be more certain. Nations are exempt from thoſe viciſſitudes which derange the wiſeſt of human plans on a ſmaller ſcale. Number and magnitude reduce chances to certainty. The ſingle and unforeſeen accident that overwhelms a man in the midſt of proſperity, never ruins a nation. Unleſs it be ripe for ruin, a nation never falls; and when it does fall, accident has only the appearance of doing what was, in reality, already nearly accompliſhed. This is no phyſical cauſe for the decline of nations. Nature remains the ſame. And if the phyſical man has degenerated, it was before the authentic records of hiſtory."

Theſe extracts from our author's preface will enable our readers to form a ſufficiently accurate idea of the nature of his deſign. Of its execution, we do not heſitate to ſay, that it is ingenious, able, and, as far as a deſign of ſuch magnitude and novelty can poſſibly be expected to be, ſatisfactory: ſatisfactory, at leaſt, in this reſpect, that the inveſtigation in which he leads the way, may, by the joint labours of men of genius and induſtry, conduct mankind to the eſtabliſhment of knowledge, more certain and practical, on a very important ſubject.

As Mr. Playfair's deſign is unfolded in his preface, ſo we have a recapitulation of his general reaſonings and inferences, in the eighth chapter of his third and laſt book, entitled CONCLUSION.

"The great end of all human effort is, to improve upon the means which nature has furniſhed men with, for obtaining the objects of their wants and wiſhes, and to obviate, to counteract, or do away thoſe inconveniencies and diſadvantages which nature has thrown in the way of their enjoyments.

"With the mind the ſame courſe ſhould be uſed as with material bodies. It is impoſſible, in either caſe, to create; but we may turn the good to as profitable an advantage as we are able, and counteract the bad.

"To attempt to hinder men from following their propenſities when in power, is always arduous, generally ineffectual, and frequently impracticable; beſides, when it can be done coercively, it infringes too much on the liberty and enjoyment of mankind. A controuling power ſhould be employed as ſeldom as poſſible.

"To attempt to ſmother the paſſions is vain; to controul them, difficult. Beſides it is from energy, ariſing from paſſions or propenſities, that all good, as well as evil, ariſes. The buſineſs, then, will neither be to curb nor to cruſh, but to give a proper direction. This is to be done by good habits,

when young, and a proper education, which cannot be obtained by individual exertion, without the aſſiſtance of Government; an aſſiſtance, therefore, which it is bound to give.

"The general tendency of wealth and power is, to enervate people, to make them proud and indolent, and, after a certain time, they leave a country. Individuals have no means to counteract this tendency, unleſs the governing power of the country gives a general impulſe to them, in caſes where they can act, and acts itſelf, with care and attention, where individuals can do nothing.

"In the caſe of education and manners, in the caſe of providing for children, individuals may do much; but government muſt not only give the means, but the impulſe. In the caſe of the ſoil becoming inſufficient for the inhabitants, and of taxes and national debt increaſing, government may ſtop the progreſs; and in the caſes of individual bodies trenching on the public weal, as well as in the tendency of inventions, capital, &c to emigrate to other countries, the government may counteract, and, perhaps, totally prevent them all.

"In all caſes, individuals will and muſt follow their lawful propenſities, both in the means of employing capital, and expending revenue; that is, they muſt be left free, in a general way, and only interrupted and regulated in particular caſes; but, ſometimes, the means muſt be furniſhed them of going right, and in other caſes the inducements to do ſo augmented. We ſhall take the ſubjects in the ſame order that they followed in the ſecond book.

"Though the manners of people arrived at maturity, can only be regulated by their education, when young, if that is properly attended to, it will be ſufficient; for though it will not prevent the generation that has attained wealth, from enjoying it according to the prevailing taſte, it will prevent contamination being communicated with increaſed force, as it now is, to the children. The evils will then go on in a ſimple proportion; they now go with a compound one, and the evils ariſing from the luxury of each generation are doubled on that which follows after. If that is prevented, it will be all that probably is neceſſary; at all events, it is probably all that is poſſible.

"In taxation, the government ſhould ſtudy to do away what is obnoxious in its mode of collection, for that does more injury to the ſubject, in many caſes, than an equal ſum would do, levied in another manner; and when payments are to be made, the mode ſhould be rendered as eaſy as poſſible. Every unneceſſary trouble ſhould be avoided in collecting a tax. In the tax on receipts and bills, why ſhould the ſums to which they extend not be printed on them, ſo as to prevent error, which is ſometimes attended with great loſs, and always with inconvenience? If this had been done, how many law ſuits, how many nefarious tricks, would have been prevented? But, not to ſpeak of thoſe inconveniencies only, how much uſeleſs trouble, uneaſineſs, and uncertainty, would have been ſaved in the common way of tranſacting buſineſs? In moſt caſes, the ſubject is treated as if neither his time, nor his conveniency, nor his feelings, were worth attending to. This is equally impolitic and unjuſt: there is, perhaps, no country where people are more careful to keep within the pale of the law, than in England; but when they are within it, and have power, no people uſe it with a more inſulting rigour; and for this there is no redreſs.

"In many caſes, this would be entirely prevented, by proper attention

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in firſt laying on the tax. There ſhould be a board of taxation, to receive and digeſt, and examine, the ſuggeſtions of others. In ſhort, pains ſhould be taken to bring to perfection the ſyſtem. At preſent, it is left to chance; that is to ſay, it is left for thoſe to do who have not time to do it, and, of conſequence, the blunders committed are ſeen by all the world.

"The encroachments of ſeparate bodies on the public, it is entirely in the power of the ſtate to prevent. It is owing to weakneſs or careleſſneſs, or ignorance, that government admit of ſuch encroachments, and they are eaſily to be prevented, partly, as has been ſhewn, by poſitive regulation, and partly by counteracting them, whenever they appear to be proceeding in a direction any way doubtful. When they do ſo, the concluſion may be, that they are working for themſelves; and in that caſe, they ought to be very minutely examined into; and, in all public bodies, and men belonging to a claſs that has a particular intereſt, generally derive their means of trenching on the public from government, it may very eaſily controul their action, or counteract the effect.

"As lawyers have the adminiſtration of juſtice amongſt themſelves; as the executive part is in their hand, the law-makers ſhould be particularly careful to make them amenable by law for bad conduct; it ought not to be left in the boſom of a court, to ſtrike off, or keep on, an improper man. It is not right, on the one hand, that attornies, or any ſet of men, ſhould be ſubject to an arbitrary exertion of power; and it is equally unfair for them to be protected by having thoſe who are to judge between them and the public, always belonging to their own body. In defence of this, it is ſaid, that attornies are ſervants of the court, and that the buſineſs of the court being to do juſtice, their correction cannot be in better hands. This is a tolerably ingenious aſſertion, if it were ſtrictly true; but the court conſiſts both of judge and jury; whereas, in this caſe, the judge aſſumes all the power; that is to ſay, when a caſe is to be determined relative to the conduct of a lawyer, a lawyer is to be the ſole judge; and the jury, who repreſent the public, are to have their power ſet aſide; thus, when their opinion is moſt wanted, it is not allowed to be given. Under ſuch regulation, what redreſs can be expected? As for the taxing coſts by a maſter, it is rarely, that a client, from prudential motives, dares appeal; and, when he does, the remedy is frequently worſe than the diſeaſe; and, even in this caſe, a lawyer judges a lawyer. Without ſaying any thing againſt the judgments, it will be allowed, that in neither caſe is the principle of Magna Charta adhered to, of a man being judged by his peers; beſides, in every other fraud, there is puniſhment proportioned to the crime. In this caſe there is no puniſhment, unleſs the extortion is exorbitant, and then the puniſhment is too great. It ought to be proportioned to the offence, as in caſes of uſury, and then it would be effectual; but to let ſmall miſdemeanors go free, and to puniſh great ones beyond meaſure, is the way to elude puniſhment in all caſes. A man ought to pay his bill; let the attorney take the money at his peril, and let there be a court to judge fairly, at little expence, and with promptitude, and puniſh the extortion by a treble fine. This would anſwer; but all regulations, relative to law, are left to lawyers themſelves; and the fable of the man, the lion, and the picture, was never ſo well exemplified. Never, in any caſe, was redreſs more wanted; perhaps never was it leſs likely to be had.

"The unequal diviſion of property, as has been ſhewn, ariſes partly from bad laws, and partly from neglect of regulation. It is, indeed, one of

the moſt delicate points to interfere in: nevertheleſs, as it has been proved, that laws do already interfere between a man and the uſe of his property (and that it is, in ſome caſes, neceſſary that they ſhould do ſo), the queſtion is reduced to one of circumſtances and expediency; it is not one to be determined, in the abſtract, on principle. It is alſo of too nice a nature to be touched roughly by general regulation; but, if large eſtates in land, and large farms, were taxed higher in proportion than ſmall ones, it would counteract, to a certain degree, the tendency of landed property to accumulate in any one perſon's hand; and, except in land, property ſeldom remains long enough in one family to accumulate to a dangerous degree.

"The increaſed conſumption of a nation, which we have found one of the cauſes of decline that increaſes with its wealth, may be more effectually prevented than any other; not by interfering with the mode in which individuals expend their wealth, but by managing it ſo, that vegetable food ſhall always be in abundance; and if ſo, the high prices of animal food, and the low price of vegetables, will anſwer the purpoſe of counteracting the taſte for the former, which is the cauſe of the dearth, and brings on depopulation; and therefore its hurtful effect will be prevented.

"To this gentlemen of landed property may object, and no doubt will object, but let them conſider how rapidly ruin is coming on. At the rate matters now go, it would not be ſurpriſing, but a natural effect, if moſt of the fields in Britain were converted into paſture, and our chief ſupply of corn obtained from abroad. The rent of land would, indeed, be doubled, the wages of labour would riſe more than in an equal proportion, and a very few years would complete the ruin of this country. The landed proprietors ſurely would not, for any momentary gain, riſk the ruin of themſelves and of their country, for both may be the conſequence of perſiſting in this ſyſtem. Or, if they perſiſt in it, will the government, which has other intereſts to conſult and to protect, allow that ſingle one to ſwallow up the reſt?

"It is true, the freedom of trade will be invoked; but the freedom of trade is a principle, not to be adopted without limitation, but with due regard to times and circumſtances; let it then never be invoked, upon a general queſtion, without examination. Though this is the true way of arguing the queſtion, let freedom of trade be taken in another way: let it be conſidered as a general principle; it will then be immutable, and not be changed. The preſent corn-laws muſt, on that principle, be done away, and no bounty allowed for exportation or for importation, which, indeed, would be the beſt way; but at all events, let us have but one weight and one meaſure for both parties, and not invoke freedom of trade to protect the corn-dealers when prices are high, and enact laws to counteract the effects of plenty, which produces low prices.

"On this ſubject, government muſt ſet itſelf above every conſideration, but that of the welfare of the country: it is too important to be trifled with, or to be bartered for any inferior conſideration.

"The prices of our manufactures will ſoon become too high for other nations. Our inventions, to abbreviate labour, cannot be perpetual, and, in ſome caſes, they can go no farther than they have already gone; beſides, the ſame inventions, copied by nations where labour is cheaper, give them ſtill a ſuperiority over us.

"If increaſed conſumption was the leading cauſe of the deſtruction of Rome, to which money was ſent from tributary nations, and employed to purchaſe

purchaſe corn (ſo that its ſupply was independent of its induſtry), how much more forcible and rapid muſt be its effects in this country, living by manufacturers, and having no other means to procure a ſupply from ſtrangers, when this is neceſſary.

"The burthens of our national taxes continuing the ſame, thoſe for the poor increaſing, our means diminiſhing; what could poſſibly produce a more rapid decline?

"The danger is too great and too evident to require any thing farther to be ſaid; particularly as the laſt ten years have taught ſo much by experience.

"It is unneceſſary to repeat what was ſaid about the mode of reducing the intereſt of the national debt, without ſetting too much capital afloat; without breaking faith with the creditors of the State, or burthening the induſtry of the country.

"On the increaſe of the poor, and the means of diminiſhing their numbers, enough has been ſaid. That muſt originate with government in every caſe, and in ſome caſes excluſively belongs to it. They muſt act of themſelves with reſpect to the very poor, and to their children; with thoſe who are not quite reduced to poverty, they ſhould grant aid, to enable them to ſtruggle againſt adverſity, and prevent their offſpring from becoming burthenſome to the public.

"The other affairs well attended to, capital and induſtry will loſe their tendency to leave the country; and if they ſhould continue to leave it, the caſe will be deſperate; for, after the lands are improved, and the beſt encouragement given to the employment of capital, and to the greateſt extent, nothing more can be done: it will find employment elſewhere.

"The efficacy of a remedy, like every thing elſe in this world, has a boundary; but the extent and compaſs of that depends, in a great degree, on exertion and ſkill, and particularly ſo in the preſent inſtance. It remains with the government to make that exertion, either directly itſelf, or by putting individnals in the way to make it.

"The government of a country muſt then interfere, in an active manner, in the prevention of the interior cauſes of decline. As to the exterior ones, they do not depend on a country itſelf; but, ſo far as they do, it is excluſively on the government, and in no degree on the individual inhabitants.

"The envy and enmity which ſuperior wealth creates, can only be diminiſhed by the moderation and juſtice with which a nation conducts itſelf towards others; and if they are ſufficiently envious and unfair to perſiſt, a nation like Britain has nothing to fear. But we muſt ſeparate from envy and enmity, occaſioned by the poſſeſſion of wealth, that envy and enmity that are excited by the unjuſt manner in which wealth is acquired."

To this extract from that part of our author's concluſion which he conſiders as applicable to this country, we ſhall add the following, which is an application of the preſent enquiry to nations in general.

"If there is a leſſon taught by political economy that is of greater importance than any other, it is that induſtry, well directed, is the way to obtain wealth; and that the modes by which nations ſought after it, in the early and middle ages, by war and conqueſt, are, in compariſon, very ineffectual.

"Nothwithſtanding that princes themſelves are now convinced of the

truth of this, by a ſtrange fatality, the poſſeſſion of commercial wealth has itſelf become the cauſe of wars, not leſs ruinous than thoſe that formerly were the chief occupation of mankind.

" It was diſcovered, a few centuries ago, that ſmall principalities, and even ſingle cities, acquired more wealth by induſtry, than all the mighty monarchs of the middle ages did by war; but we are not yet advanced to the ultimate end of the leſſons that experience and reaſon give in regard to the intereſts of nations, with regard to wealth and power.

" To ſuppoſe that mankind will ever live entirely at peace is abſurd, and is to ſuppoſe them to change their nature. Such a reverie would only ſuit one of the revolutioniſts of France; but let us hope that there is ſtill a poſſibility to leſſen the cauſes of quarrels amongſt nations. The true principles of political economy lead to that, and the object is ſufficiently important.

" By *agriculture* and *manufactures*, that is, by producing ſuch things as are conducive to the happineſs of man, the aggregate wealth of mankind can alone be increaſed.

" By commerce, which conſiſts in conveying or ſelling the produce of induſtry, the aggregate wealth of mankind is not increaſed, but its *diſtribution is altered.*

" As individuals, and ſometimes nations, have obtained great wealth, not by producing, but by altering the diſtribution of wealth produced; that is, by commerce: that ſeems to thoſe who aim at wealth, to be the greateſt object of ambition.

" If every nation in the world were induſtrious, and contented with conſuming the articles it produced, they would all be wealthy and happy without commerce: or, if each nation enjoyed a ſhare of commerce, in proportion to what it produced, there would be no ſuperiority to create envy.

" Variety of ſoil and climate, difference of taſte, of manners, and an infinity of other cauſes, have rendered commerce neceſſary, though it does not increaſe the aggregate wealth of mankind; but nations are in an error when they ſet a greater value on commerce than on productive induſtry.

" Some nations are ſituated by nature ſo as to be commercial, juſt as others are to raiſe grapes and fine fruits; therefore, though one nation has more than what appears to be an equal ſhare of commerce, it ought not to be a reaſon for envy, much leſs for enmity.

" Some nations alſo find it their intereſt to attend chiefly to agriculture. Others may find it neceſſary to attend more to manufactures; but that ought to be no cauſe of enmity or rivalſhip.

" With a view, if poſſible, to diminiſh a little the envy and rivalſhip that ſtill ſubſiſts, let us take a view of this buſineſs in its preſent ſtate.

" Britain, the wealthieſt of nations, at this time, ſells little of the produce of her ſoil, and a great deal of the produce of her induſtry; but ſhe purchaſes a great deal of the produce of the ſoil of other countries, though not much of their induſtry. In this there is great mutual convenience, and no rivalſhip. In fact, her wealth ariſes nearly altogether from internal induſtry, and by no means from that commerce that is the envy of other nations; for it is clear, that whoever produces a great deal may conſume a great deal, without any exchange of commodities, and without commerce.

" The Engliſh, number for number, produce more, by one half, than any

any other people; they can, therefore, conſume more; they are, therefore, richer.

"If France would cultivate her ſoil with the ſame care that we attend to manufactures (at the ſame time manufacturing for herſelf as much as ſhe did before the Revolution), ſhe would be a much richer country than England, without having a ſingle manufacture for exportation. Her wines, brandies, fruits, &c. &c. would procure her amply whatever ſhe might want from other nations. Let France make good laws to favour induſtry, and, above all, render property ſecure, and ſhe will have no occaſion to envy England.

"Ruſſia, part of Germany, Spain, Italy, and Portugal, are all in a ſimilar ſituation with France in this reſpect; they will each be as rich as England the moment they are induſtrious, and have as many inventions for the abbreviation of labour.

"Holland, Sweden, Denmark, Pruſſia, and ſome parts of Germany, are more or leſs in the ſame ſituation with England; they require to pay attention to manufactures, for they have not the means of raiſing produce enough to exchange for all they want.

"If there is any occaſion for rivalſhip, or ground for envy, it is then but very ſmall; and it happens, that the rivalſhip which exiſts is between thoſe nations that, in reality, ought to be the leaſt envious of each other; the nations who have the feweſt quarrels are thoſe who really might be rivals.

"Rivalſhip is natural between thoſe who are in ſimilar ſituations. France, Spain, and Portugal, might be rivals. England, Holland, Pruſſia, and Denmark, might alſo be rivals; but there can be no reaſon for France envying England her manufactures and commerce, any more than for England envying France for her climate, ſoil, extent of territory, and population.

"The way to produce the moſt, being to give induſtry its beſt direction, nations, differently ſituated, ought never to be rivals or enemies on account of trade.

"If thoſe who regulate the affairs of nations, were to conſider this in its true light, there would be leſs jealouſy and more induſtry.

"There appears to be only one real cauſe for war, ſo far as it is occaſioned by a wiſh to obtain wealth; and that ariſes from poſſeſſions in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, and America.

"If there were no ſuch poſſeſſions, or if they were more equally divided, there would be very little cauſe for war amongſt nations.

"It may very poſſibly, at ſome diſtant time, be an object for a general congreſs of nations, to ſettle this point; ſo that it ſhall be no longer an object of jealouſy. This can be done only by abandoning entirely, or dividing more equally; but at preſent the animoſity and enmity occaſioned is (are) conſiderable, though not well founded.

"The Spaniards are not envied for the poſſeſſion of Peru, nor the Portugueſe for the Brazils, though they draw more wealth from them than ever England or Holland did from their foreign poſſeſſions; yet, England is, and Holland was, an object of envy, on account of poſſeſſions abroad. This is the more unreaſonable, that the Spaniards and Portugueſe keep the trade ſtrictly to themſelves, while England allows nations, at peace with her, the moſt liberal conditions for trading with her Indian poſſeſſions; conditions indeed, that give them ſuperiority over ourſelves. This conduct ought not to bring down upon England, envy or enmity (though it does); for the fact is, that if all nations were at peace with England, they might, if they had

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capital and ſkill (and that they have not is no fault of England), trade with India to great advantage, while we have the trouble of defending our eſtabliſhments, and of keeping the country.

"Before the revolution, France obtained more produce from St. Domingo alone, in one year, than Britain did from all her Weſt India iſlands together in three years, and much more than England did from all her foreign poſſeſſions together; yet France was never obnoxious to other nations on that account.

"It appears, then, very evident, that the envy and jealouſy do not ariſe from the *magnitude or value of foreign poſſeſſions*, but from ſome other cauſe, though it is laid to that account. This cauſe is worth enquiring into. It appears that Holland and England have, alone, been cauſes of jealouſy to other nations, on account of foreign poſſeſſions; but, that Spain, Portugal, and France, never have, though there was more real reaſon for envy and jealouſy.

"The reaſon of this appears to be, that thoſe nations who excited no envy eſcaped it, becauſe their indolence, or internal economy prevented them from becoming rich; but that Holland and England, which, in reality owed their wealth chiefly to internal induſtry, and very little of it to foreign poſſeſſions, have excited great envy, and that England does ſo to the preſent hour.

"It is, then, wealth ariſing from induſtry, that is the object to be aimed at, and that cannot be obtained by war or conqueſt. The purpoſe is not advanced, but retarded by ſuch conteſts; and if thoſe, who rule nations would condeſcend to enter into the merits of the caſe, they would find, not only that the happineſs of the people, and every purpoſe at which they aim would be better anſwered than by conteſting about the means of wealth, which conſiſting in internal induſtry does not admit of transfer. One nation may be ruined, and another may riſe (as indeed they are continually doing) but one nation does not riſe merely by ruining another; the wealth of a nation, like the happineſs of an individual, draws the ſource from its own boſom. The poſſeſſion of all the Indies would never make an indolent people rich; and while a people are induſtrious, and induſtry is well directed, they never can be poor.

"It is to be hoped, that the time is faſt approaching when nations will ceaſe to fight about an object that is not to be obtained by fighting, and that they will ſeek for what they want by ſuch means as are ſafe and practicable."

Though from the foregoing extracts the reader will be enabled to judge in ſome meaſure, both Mr. Playfair's deſign and execution, we cannot refrain, in viewing a work of ſuch novelty and importance, to preſent our readers with a yet fuller exibition of both. One of the leading principles, indeed the moſt eſſential in the preſent work, is, that—

"The ſuperior energy of poverty and neceſſity, which leads men, even under many diſadvantages, to act inceſſantly in whatever way ſeems likely to raiſe them to a level with thoſe that are richer, is the ground-work of the riſe and fall of nations, as well as of individuals. It is a continued and regular exertion directed to a proper object, that is wanted to obtain wealth; to procure this we muſt imitate nature and create neceſſity. But in proportion

portion as a nation grows wealthy, that neceſſity is done away. It is of the art of prolonging neceſſity, or rather of reconciling neceſſity with affluence and eaſe, for which we are going to ſearch, that we may, by that means, reconcile affluence with induſtry."

Hence our author is led to conſider the general operation of wealth on the habits of life, manners, education, and ways of thinking and acting of the inhabitants of a country. He finds it directly to his purpoſe to diſcover what the natural operation is, by which induſtry leaves a country—to the enervating habits of wealth, deſcending by a conſtant gradation from induſtrious ages, and induſtrious individuals, to effeminate, indolent, and idle poſterity, he would oppoſe the education of youth of both ſexes, under the impulſe and inſpection of Government. This is the grand remedy. Other regulations, as modes of taxation, relieving the weight of public debt, means of ſupporting the poor, the reduction of certain monopolies, &c. are propoſed by our author, for the encouragement of induſtry and adventure; but his grand counterpoiſe to progreſſive luxury and enervation is EDUCATION. By education in general, he underſtands what makes man uſeful, reſpectable, and happy in the line for which he is deſtined, whether for manual labour or for ſtudy; for a high or low ſituation. What is uſeful becomes a queſtion of which he treats, in ſome meaſure depending on place, and ſtill more on circumſtances. But good principles, honor, honeſty, he obſerves, are equally neceſſary in every rank of ſociety. In every mode of education the importance of theſe ſhould be inculcated; and that they may be adhered to, every man, either by inheritance, or talents, or habits of induſtry, ſhould have it in his power to command the means of living in the way that he has been brought up.

"When the time comes that it is fixed on what line of life a young man is to adopt, then there ſhould be ſchools for different branches, where there ſhould be knowledge taught analogous to the profeſſion. For the mercantile line, for agriculture, for every line of life, boys ſhould be prepared; and above all, it ſhould never be neglected to inſtil into them the advantages of attention to induſtry, to doing their duty, and in every caſe making themſelves worthy of truſt.

"Public examinations, ſuch honours and rewards as would be gratifying, but not expenſive, for thoſe that excelled, would produce emulation. Though perhaps, it is not of very great importance to excel in ſome of the ſtudies to which a young man applies at ſchool, yet it is of great importance to be taught that habit of application that produces excellence.

"With regard to the education of the lower claſſes, it would be no great additional burthen to the nation if there were proper ſchools eſtabliſhed in every pariſh in the kingdom, at the expence of the public, in order that there might be a proper control over thoſe who teach, and over what is taught. Without going ſo far as to compel people of the lower claſſes to ſend their children to ſchool, they might be induced to do it for a ſhort time; and, at all events, care ſhould be taken that the teachers were fit for the office they undertake.

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"In no country do the lower claſſes neglect the care of their children more, or ſet them a worſe example, than in England; they are moſtly brought up as if the buſineſs of eating and drinking were the chief purpoſe of human exiſtence; they are taught to be difficult to pleaſe, and to conſider as neceſſary what, in every other nation in Europe is conſidered by the ſame rank of people as ſuperfluous.

"Although the lower orders have as good a right as the moſt affluent to indulge in every enjoyment they can afford, yet, to teach this to children, without knowing what may be their lot, is doing both them and ſociety an injury. A great number of crimes ariſe from early indulgence of children, and from neglecting to inſtil into them thoſe principles which are neceſſary to make them go through life with credit and contentment."

Mr. Playfair, in a note obſerves, that twenty pounds given to each pariſh for the eſtabliſhment of a ſchoolmaſter, who ſhould be allowed to add what thoſe who were able could pay, might, perhaps, anſwer the purpoſe, and would not amount to a great ſum. We preſume he has in view only England and Wales; for, as to Scotland, parochial ſchools were eſtabliſhed by the Scottiſh parliament throughout the whole kingdom, after the Reformation: a circumſtance, which, we are ſurpriſed that Mr. P. did not notice. Theſe ſchools have certainly produced very great effects. They certainly have had, and ſtill have a very large ſhare in breeding that ſpirit of adventure and enterprize for which even the lower claſſes in Scotland are famous. But theſe ſchools have alſo a tendency to make young people diſſatisfied with the occupations of their fathers, to fly at higher game, to drain every uſeful hand from mechanichal employment, and, in a word, to produce all thoſe evils which Dr. Mandeville lays to the account of free ſchools, in his celebrated *Fable of the Bees, or private Vices public Benefits*. Mr. P. by the bye, agrees with Dr. Mandeville in many things, though not in the point of free ſchools. So alſo does Dr. Adam Smith. As to the latter, it is ſcarcely poſſible to ſuppoſe that he has not, in many things copied or followed Dr. Mandeville, though he does not acknowledge it; in the ſame manner that he drew largely from Turgot and the other French economiſts, without any acknowledgment *. But, to return to our author—the Lacedemonian Legiſlator,

* See particularly his obſervations on the nature of money and value of induſtry and labour, Vol. I. p. 270; and on the prodigious effects of the diviſion of labour, V. II. p. 267. Even Mr. Hume may be ſuſpected of ſtealing from Mandeville. Compare Mr. Hume's Eſſay on Belief, with the following, "aſk not only the divines and moraliſts of every nation, but likewiſe all that are rich and powerful, about real pleaſure, and they'll tell you with the Stoics that there can be no true felicity in things mundane and corruptible. But here look upon their lives and you'll find they take delight in no other. What muſt we do in this dilemma? ſhall we be ſo uncharitable as to ſay that all the world prevaricates, and that this is not their opinion, let them talk what they will? or ſhall we be ſo ſilly, as relying on what they ſay, to think them ſincere in their ſentiments, and ſo not believe our own eyes?

lator, Lycurgus, preſerved, by his inſtitutions, the ſevere virtues of his countrymen, and their independence, for ſeven hundred years: but he quenched the flame of pleaſure by withdrawing the fuel. Mr. P. attempts a more arduous taſk, to nouriſh luxury, without which there cannot be induſtry and commerce; and yet to maintain the virtues of ſobriety, temperance, diligence, and contentment, among the maſs of the people. "Can a man, ſays Solomon, take coals into his boſom and not be burnt?" As to the poſſibility of inſpiring "good principles, honour, honeſty, and integrity, by means of education," it is not for want of either teaching or preaching, if theſe do not already lift up their heads and flouriſh. But Mr. P. propoſes ſome improvements in the modes of education. Some of theſe, if they can be carried into practice, may, perhaps, be attended with good effects. We wiſh they may. But with the exception of what he ſays on the eſtabliſhment of parochial ſchools, his other projects, on the head of education, do not appear to us to be very promiſing, or in every inſtance eaſily practicable. His ſtrictures on the keeping a great number of girls together at Boarding Schools, beyond the age of fourteen, are juſt and important. There are many truths, of a moral and political nature, illuſtrated in the Inquiry before us, with ſingular felicity. The moſt important of all, indeed the general reſult of the whole is, that a nation in the midſt of the moſt ſplendid career of proſperity ſhould be more anxious to preſerve than to extend its acquirements, external and internal. It is not wiſe, perhaps, to haſten with too much ſpeed to the utmoſt degree of perfection in any national purſuit that it is in our power to attain. It would be wiſe to advance to the goal, not rapidly, but by ſlower degrees: "Perfection is never long, or eaſily rendered ſtationary: when things do not go forward, they naturally go backward*." To employ arms and the public revenue for the fartheſt poſſible extenſion of colonization and commerce is downright madneſs. Nothing ſudden is deep-rooted and laſting in the political any more than in the phyſical world. It would be well for nations to attend more to the duration than the intenſity, ſo to ſpeak, of their exiſtence. If their riſe would be more ſlow, they would hover longer round the ſummit, and they would go down the hill again by more leiſurely and eaſy gradations.

We have been ſeduced into a more copious account of this work

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eyes? or ſhall we rather endeavour to believe ourſelves and them two, and ſay with Montague, that they imagine, and are fully perſuaded, that they believe what yet they do not believe? Theſe are his words: 'Some impoſe on the world, and would be thought to believe what they really don't: but much the greater number impoſe on themſelves not conſidering, nor thoroughly apprehending, what it is to believe.

Fable of the Bees, Vol. II. p. 136.

* "Difficiles in perfecto mora eſt: naturaliterque quod procedere non poteſt recedit." M. VELL. PATERC. HIST. ROMAN. Lib. I. Caput xvi.

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than our limits preſcribed, by the novelty of the ſubject, and intereſt of the matter. And yet it is not without difficulty and regret that we refrain from extracting ſome of Mr. P.'s ſtrictures on the encroachments of lawyers, and of that *eſprit de corps* which pervades all public bodies from pariſh veſtries upwards.

Whatever may be thought of the efficacy of thoſe preventives which are preſcribed by Mr. Playfair for averting, or averting for a time, the decline and fall of nations, it muſt be allowed that they have a tendency this way. If the means recommended by Lord Bacon fail of PROLONGING HUMAN LIFE, they are at leaſt ſafe, and ſalutiferous. If the ends propoſed reſpecting the lives of both individuals and ſtates be not attained, yet many important truths are brought to light in the purſuit of them, in the ſame manner as the moſt valuable diſcoveries in chemiſtry have been made by the alchymiſts while in ſearch of the philoſopher's ſtone.

We are now to preſent our readers with a few of Mr. Playfair's *nuts in the huſk*, by way of proof and illuſtration of what we have obſerved above on the ſubject of his ſtyle, generally ſlovenly and inaccurate, often uncouth, and ſometimes almoſt unintelligible; or, at leaſt, not to be underſtood without ſome pains. In his preface, page 9, parag. 2, he ſays—

"There remains but one other conſideration *in reply to this*; and that is, whether ſtates have neceſſarily, by the conſtitution and nature of things, the ſame periods of infancy, manhood, and decrepitude, that are found in the individuals that compoſe them?"

What is the objection to which this reply is made? Let the moſt attentive and penetrating reader peruſe the whole preface up to this quotation, and we defy him to point out any one paragraph or ſentence in which any objection or doubt is ſtated. We can only infer, from the general ſcope of Mr. P.'s reaſoning, that he ſuppoſes it may be queſtioned, or doubted, whether the cauſes of decline be not only natural, but neceſſary; and to that queſtion or doubt, he replies by ſtating the very ſame queſtion, though in other words, and diſcuſſing it. He is conſcious of what paſſes within the cloſet of his own pericranium; but the reader is not. The reader requires that a door or window ſhould be opened by the aid of words.

P. 87, parag. 3.—"But all theſe avail nothing againſt habits of induſtry, and being taught to expect nothing from others, but to depend all on one's own powers. With this ſingle, but ſignal, advantage, the ſons of the wealthy citizens are always yielding to the ſon of the peaſant."

What?—The advantage is certainly on the ſide, not of the former, but of the latter.

Page 84.—"Britain *can* only be firm and juſt [he ſhould have ſaid, juſt and firm] in its conduct towards other nations, give up uſeleſs poſſeſſions, defend its true rights to the laſt point, encourage induſtry at home, and take every ſtep to prevent the operation of thoſe cauſes of decline that we have been examining."

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Is this all that Britain *can* do?—No: but Mr. P. means, and ſhould have ſaid, that this is all that is neceſſary for the end in queſtion. In one place, Mr. P. ſpeaks of "wealthy, or, at leaſt, affluent nations," or "WEALTH, at leaſt, affluence." We value Mr. Playfair's matter very much. It would, doubtleſs, be valued more by others, if he were attentive to his manner; but if he has not time, or does not chooſe to learn how, to ſhave his own beard, why not call in the aid of a barber?

It only remains for us to take notice of Mr. Playfair's mode of expreſſing ideas by engraved lines or charts. This mode of conveying ideas, which is very ingenious, poſſeſſes, among other advantages, that of ſetting all the cenſures of grammarians and rhetoricians, wholly at defiance. The charts are accompanied with proper deſcriptions or explanations. They exhibit the migrations, the riſe, the duration, and the decline and fall of the wealth and power of nations, in a manner wonderfully eaſy and impreſſive. They require no exertion of thought, beſides that of attention to the explanations.

It may be obſerved that there is a diſpoſition, a turn, a conſtant effort of the mind, to clothe every idea—both abſtract ideas and thoſe derived from the other ſenſes—in the garb and colour of SIGHT. This being, with reſpect to knowledge, the predominating ſenſe, extends its influence and, in ſome meaſure, its reign over the other four, as well as all that has been called ideas, ideas of reflexion, ſubjects of conſciouſneſs, and, by a moſt ingenious, ſubtle, and accurate metaphyſician, though no writer,* reſenſations. But this is not the circumſtance that firſt ſuggeſted the invention of lineal arithmetic to our author. Though fertile in the reſources of genius himſelf, he owes, and acknowledges himſelf indebted for this invention to his excellent brother, the Rev. Mr. John Playfair, moſt honourably known to the philoſophical world as the editor of Euclid, and the author of Proofs and Illuſtrations of the Huttonian Philoſophy, and who has lately been tranſlated from the Mathematical Chair to that of Natural Philoſophy in the Univerſity of Edinburgh.

"I think it well," ſays Mr. W. Playfair (in an advertiſement prefixed to his work), "to embrace this opportunity, the beſt I have had, and, perhaps, the laſt I ever ſhall have, of making ſome return (as far as acknowledgment is a return), for an obligation of a nature never to be repaid, by acknowledging publicly, that, to the beſt and moſt affectionate of brothers, I owe the invention of thoſe charts.

"At a very early period of my life, my brother, who, in a moſt exemplary manner, maintained and educated the family his father left, made me keep a regiſter, expreſſing the variations by lines on a divided ſcale. He taught me to know, that whatever can be expreſſed in numbers can be repreſented by lines. The chart of the thermometer was on the ſame principle with thoſe given here. The application only is different."

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* General Robert Melville, of Mount Melville, Fifeſhire.

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In Chart 1, repreſenting the riſe and fall of nations that have been particularly diſtinguiſhed for wealth or power, there is one thing wanting, that is referred to in the explanation. This cannot, properly ſpeaking, be called a DEFECT in the engraving, which is a very curious and impreſſive exhibition of the migrations and viciſſitudes of wealth and power: As a ſomewhat of redundancy in the deſcription, "The part ſhaded of a darkiſh colour, and growing gradually lighter at both edges, repreſents thoſe centuries of ignorance which ſucceeded the fall of the Roman empire." (P. 78.) This part of the deſign may be ſupplied in future editions, when the plate, ſo improved, may be ſent to the purchaſers of the preſent edition.

In page 13, we meet with a reference to Appendix (A.) and in page 21, to Appendix (B). But Mr. Playfair informs us in a note at the end of the work, that the deſign of an Appendix was altered "from the conſideration that readers of hiſtory do not require ſolitary facts, by way of illuſtration, though ſuch are (or *may* be, for they are not always ſo) eaſy to be produced." We cannot as critics but proteſt againſt this utter rejection of Appendixes. For the ſame reaſon preciſely, Mr. Playfair ſhould avoid making notes. For Appendixes are nothing elſe than bundles of notes and illuſtrations; yet we are indebted to Mr. Playfair himſelf, for a great variety of notes, very well calculated for the proof and illuſtration of different particulars. The volume is very properly wound up, with a very judicious and pretty copious Index.

Naval and Military Memoirs of Great Britain, from 1727 *to* 1783. By Robert Beatſon, Eſq. L.L.D. 6 Vol. Longman and Co. London; A. Conſtable and Co. Edinburgh; and A. Brown, Aberdeen. 1804.

THE three firſt volumes of this intereſting work were publiſhed before, and were very favourably taken notice of, by different reviews, in 1791.

The firſt and ſecond volumes contain a minute and circumſtantial account of the naval ſervices and tranſactions of this country, and the military operations connected with them in different parts of the globe, from 1727 to 1762 incluſive. And to theſe the third volume ſerves as an appendix, in which thoſe materials, that would have tended to incumber the text and interrupt the narrative, ſuch as the deſcriptions of places, public letters, capitulations, naval and military returns, lines of battle, &c. &c are carefully collected and chronologically arranged.

The fourth and fifth volumes compriſe the naval proceedings of Great Britain, with ſuch military operations as were contemporaneous and connected with them from the peace of Fontainbleau in November, 1762, to the treaty of Paris in 1782.

And the ſixth volume is an appendix to the fourth and fifth, containing

taining ſuch papers, documents, and materials, as could not with propriety be introduced into the text.

As the profeſſed object of Doctor Beatſon, in this performance is to give a diſtinct, minute and circumſtantial narration of the naval ſervices and tranſactions of Great Britain, from 1727 to 1783, and of ſuch military operations only, as were dependent on, or at leaſt naturally connected with them, it cannot in any reſpect be regarded either as a general hiſtory of this country, or even a complete particular hiſtory of her ſervice both by ſea and land during that period. He might, perhaps, without impropriety have called it the hiſtory of the naval tranſactions of Great Britain, and of ſuch land-ſervice as were connected with them from 1727 to 1783. But he has modeſtly declined aſſuming the name of *hiſtory* for it, as he informs us from a diffidence in his own abilities to give it that high poliſh and finiſhing which a well-written hiſtory requires. His ſtyle, however, though ſimple, naked, and unadorned, is better calculated for the correct narration of truth, which is the eye of hiſtory, than one that is laboured, ſtately, affected, flowery, or highly finiſhed.

Although his principal object in this work was to recount minutely and particularly the maritime affairs of Great Britain, he deemed it expedient, uſeful, and requiſite, to record ſuch military operations as had any relation to them, that his readers might be able to perceive the effects of both ſervices judiciouſly combined and their mutual influence on each other. Our inſular ſituation naturally creates an inſeparable connexion between them in moſt caſes, and renders the co-operation of ſhipping on almoſt every military enterprize to a certain degree indiſpenſibly neceſſary. Our troops themſelves ought, therefore, in time of peace, to be inſtructed in the uſe of the oar and the management of boats and ſmall craft, and to be made a ſort of amphibious animals before they take the field, in order to render them uſeful in various ways, and their operations ſucceſsful on actual ſervice. Such a ſyſtem of ſerviceable inſtruction might eaſily be carried into effect without preventing them from acquiring a knowledge of all the eſſential parts of tactics and diſcipline. The habituating of them in time of peace not only to ſuch ſervices, but alſo to the erection of works, and the performance of every other duty and ſpecies of fatigue occaſionally that are requiſite on a campaign, would give them immenſe advantages over troops unaccuſtomed to them. The principal part of their time and attention is generally directed towards trifling objects, manœuvres, and exerciſes, that are better calculated for pleaſing the eye than defeating an enemy, that are not only uſeleſs in the field, but utterly impracticable in action. The truth, indeed, is this, that marines are the natural troops of this country.

This work begins where Dr. Campbell in his lives of the Admirals leaves off; and, although it extends down only to 1783, the author informs us, that he means to continue it to 1789, and that this continuation of it is in great forwardneſs.

In regard to his ſtyle, he obſerves, that he meant it to be plain,

and wiſhed it to be perſpicuous. We think he has accompliſhed his intention, and obtained his wiſh. It may not, however, be improper to lay before our readers, a ſpecimen or two of his manner of deſcribing naval actions.

The one is the engagement between Sir Edward Hawke and M. De Conflans, on the 19th November, 1759, with his obſervations thereon.

"On the 19th, the wind at laſt became fair; when Sir Edward Hawke ordered the Maidſtone and Coventry frigates a-head of the fleet, the one on the ſtarboard, and the other on the larboard bow. Early in the morning of the 20th, he ordered the Magnanime a-head to make the land. About half an hour after eight, the Maidſtone made the ſignal for ſeeing a fleet; and, ſoon thereafter, the Magnanime made the ſignal that they were enemies. Sir Edward Hawke immediately made the ſignal for a line-of-battle abreaſt, in order to draw the ſhips that were aſtern up with him; and ſoon afterwards, he made the ſignal for the ſeven ſhips neareſt the enemy to chaſe, draw into a line-of-battle a-head, and to endeavour to ſtop them, until the reſt of the ſquadron could get up, hoping by this means to bring on a general engagement. When the Maidſtone firſt got ſight of the enemy's fleet, they were in chaſe of Commodore Duff's ſquadron, which they would ſoon have overpowered.

"On their diſcovering Sir Edward Hawke's fleet, they fell into great confuſion, but ſeemed at laſt to come to a determination to fight. They recalled their ſhips that were in chaſe of Commodore Duff's ſquadron, and endeavoured to form a line. Every one thought, from the equality of the two ſquadrons, the battle would be long and bloody; yet in all the Britiſh fleet, there was not a ſailor but reckoned on victory. The diſpoſition of the enemy was of great ſervice to us, as, while they were forming their line, our ſhips approached them faſt. When nearly up with them, M. de Conflans ſeemed to have changed his plan of operations; and, inſtead of waiting to engage the Britiſh fleet, he made off. They were then near their own coaſt, with the dangers of which they were well acquainted, and at the ſame time knew how to avoid them. Perhaps M. de Conflans imagined, that getting the Britiſh fleet to follow his among the rocks and ſhoals, with which the ſhore abounds, and of which we were in a great meaſure ignorant, was the beſt and ſureſt expedient he could fall upon to defeat it, eſpecially as the weather was tempeſtuous, and the day almoſt at the ſhorteſt. The enemy endeavoured to keep their fleet together, and ſteered right before the wind for the ſhore, which was not more than four leagues to leeward.

"At two o'clock, they began to fire at our headmoſt ſhips; and about half an hour afterwards, the Warſpight and Dorſetſhire being cloſe up with the enemy's rear, Sir Edward Hawke made the ſignal for engaging. Soon after the Revenge, Magnanime, Torbay, Montague, Reſolution, Swiftſure, and Defiance, came into action. The battle now raged with great fury. The Formidable, in which was M. du Verger, the French Rear-Admiral, was attacked by the Reſolution, when, after ſuſtaining a ſevere cannonade from her, and a broadſide or two from every Britiſh ſhip as they paſſed, the Formidable ſtruck about four o'clock. Captain Speke ſent his boats and took poſſeſſion of her. The loſs of men on board the Formidable was dreadful; M. du Verger, and upwards of two hundred men being killed.

Meanwhile,

Meanwhile, the Admiral, Vice-Admiral, and all the ſhips in the rear, uſed every means in their power to get into action. The Theſée ſuſtained a warm action with the Magnanime; but the latter being diſabled, by one of our ſhips running foul of her, ſhe fell aſtern. The Theſée was then attacked by the Torbay, Captain Keppel, the former of which ſoon after went to the bottom. This melancholy accident happened through a piece of ſelf-pride of her Captain, who had ordered his lower tier of guns to be run out when he firſt engaged with the Magnanime; and ſoon after he began to engage the Torbay, a heavy ſquall of wind came on. Having omitted to order his lower ports to be ſhut, and the pilot informing him, that the veſſel was by this means ſhipping a great deal of water; he was piqued at being taught his duty, perſiſted in keeping the ports open, and ſoon after, the Theſée ſunk. Of a crew which conſiſted of eight hundred men, only twenty were ſaved; theſe were picked up the next morning by the Britiſh from the topmaſts of the wreck, which appeared above water. Before this accident, her Captain, M. de Kerſaint, was eſteemed a good officer. Owing to the ſame cauſe, the Torbay was in the greateſt danger of a ſimilar fate; when Captain Keppel, by ſuperior ſeamanſhip, and ordering the lower ports to be ſhut, ſaved the ſhip; but a great deal of the Torbay's powder was ſpoiled, which obliged Captain Keppel to order his men, when they were going to engage the Theſée, not to throw away a ſhot. Soon after this, the enemy's ſhip the Superbe went to the bottom, ſuppoſed to have periſhed from the ſame cauſe which proved fatal to the Theſée.

"Sir Edward Hawke was extremely anxious to get along-ſide of the Soleil-Royal, on board of which was M. de Conflans; but the French Admiral, not reliſhing ſuch a potent antagoniſt, kept going off, leaving the rear of his fleet engaged. Lord Howe in the Magnanime, ſoon got cloſely engaged with the unfortunate Theſée; when the Warſpight eagerly puſhing on; in order to ſtop the enemy's van from getting off, ran foul of his ſhip. The Magnanime and Warſpight were ſoon ſeparated, without ſuſtaining much damage from each other. His Lordſhip then renewed the attack of the Theſée, when being again run foul of by the Montague, the foreyard of his ſhip was carried away. The enemy's ſhip made off; and, before the two veſſels could get clear of each other, ſhe was out of reach, to the great grief of Lord Howe, who was heard to exclaim, that by this unlucky diſaſter, they would loſe their ſhare of the glory of the day. But obſerving the French Heros to the leeward, and ſomewhat diſabled, he bore down ſo cloſe upon her, that, in ranging along-ſide, he carried away the fluke of one of his anchors. He attacked this ſhip with the greateſt bravery, and ſoon compelled her to ſtrike. She came to an anchor; but it blowing very hard, no boat could be ſent on board of her: and her Captain run her aſhore in the night, and landed his men. The Britiſh ſhips had now got well up with the enemy's fleet. The Royal George was in the centre firing at every ſhip within reach. The Vice-Admiral, Mars, Hero, &c. were all puſhing hard to come in for a ſhare of the glory of the day. A little before night, the enemy's fleet divided; and M. de Beaufremont, the French Vice-Admiral*, with the Tonnant, Orient, Intrepide, Magnifique, Dauphin Royal, Juſte†, Dragon, Brilliant, and Bizarre, went off to the ſouthward, within the Four-bank, ſuppoſed with a deſign to draw the Britiſh after them, in order to lead them on the bank. Sir Edward

* This is taken from the journal of an officer of knowledge and experience.

† She was wrecked the next day at the mouth of the river Loire.

Hawke judged rightly in not purſuing them. The daylight was almoſt gone; and being on an enemy's coaſt, of which he was in a great meaſure ignorant, ſurrounded with iſlands, rocks, and ſhoals, no pilots on board, that would take charge of the ſhips, and, in addition to theſe, a lee ſhore, and ſtormy weather, he made the ſignal for the fleet to come to an anchor. Darkneſs alone ſaved the remainder of the enemy's fleet, and put an end to the action. A few hours more day light, and probably they would all have been taken or deſtroyed.

"From a groſs defect or impropriety in the night ſignals then in uſe, and which were eſtabliſhed by the authority of the Admiralty, the very ſalutary meaſure adopted by Sir Edward Hawke, of bringing the fleet to an anchor at the time he did, might have been attended with the moſt fatal conſequences, and might have proved the deſtruction of the victorious fleet of Britain. By theſe inſtructions, the ſignal to anchor by night was, two guns fired from the Admiral's ſhip, without lights, or other means being uſed by which they could be diſtinguiſhed from any other guns firing at the ſame time. It is very obvious, therefore, that towards the concluſion of a battle, only terminated by the want of light, there muſt be firing on all ſides; and that conſequently, two guns fired from the Admiral's ſhip, could not, in ſuch a ſituation, be diſtinguiſhed as a ſignal. The obedience to ſuch a confuſed order was ſuch as might be expected: only a few of the ſhips which were near the Admiral, knew any thing of his having anchored: the others either ſtood out to ſea, or anchored on different places of the coaſt, as they were urged to that meaſure by neceſſity. From this divided ſtate of the Britiſh fleet, it is evident, that had the French ſhips kept in a collective body, which they ought to have done, by following the route of M. de Beaufremont within the Four-bank, they might have attacked the few ſhips which remained at anchor near Admiral Hawke, in the morning of the 21ſt, with ſuch ſuperior force as muſt have given them a deciſive and complete victory.

"Theſe facts ſuggeſt ſome very ſerious and important reflections on the ſubject of ſignals; as, in this inſtance, they appear to be of ſo much conſequence, that by a defect in them alone, Britain might have been expoſed to an invaſion, and France left miſtreſs of the ſea, notwithſtanding the efforts of a ſkilful and gallant commander, ſeconded by the exertions of the moſt active and intrepid ſeamen embarked in a ſuperior fleet. It perhaps may be matter of ſurprize to ſome of the inhabitants of this iſland to be informed, that the ſame ſignals are ſtill in force, and continue to direct the evolutions of the Britiſh fleet *; and that they were formed during the laſt century. It may alſo appear ſtrange, that among all the various improvements which have pervaded naval affairs ſince that time, no Lord High Admiral, or Board of Admiralty, have ever beſtowed ſufficient time in conſidering of a proper change in this part of the ſea-ſervice. If it proceeds from want of ſufficient power in the Admiralty to make the alterations, ſo much wanted, no time ought to be loſt in applyig to Parliament to inveſt them with the neceſſary authority, ſo as to have the naval inſtructions thoroughly examined, and a new code drawn up containing the neceſſary alterations; which code ſhould be inſpected and approved of by a Court of Inquiry, conſiſting of the beſt informed naval officers. To ſome, this may appear trifling; but the firſt naval characters in the kingdom know it

* "1790."

to

to be a matter of ſuch moment to Britain, that on it the ſafety of her fleets, by night as well as day, and the proper management of them in time of battle or other danger, in a great meaſure depends."

The other is the action that has been variouſly talked of, between Commodore Johnſtone and M. de Suffren, at Port Praya, in St. Jago, in 1781.

"By the beſt accounts of this extraordinary affair; it appears that it was the information which he had received, of the unprepared ſtate of the Britiſh ſquadron, the negligent poſition in which it was arranged, and the fatal ſecurity into which it was ſeemingly lulled, that prompted the Chevalier de Suffren to make the attack. The Bay is ſo formed, that it could have admitted of an excellent diſpoſition of the ſhips. The depth of water in it gradually increaſes, as it recedes from the ſhore, from three to fifteen fathoms, and the points of land at each extremity are ſomething leſs than a league aſunder. In ſuch a ſituation, the ſmalleſt and moſt defenceleſs veſſels might have been anchored neareſt the ſhore; next to theſe, as the water deepened, might have been placed the ſtoreſhips and Indiamen; and without theſe the Commodore with the war ſhips, to protect the whole. Inſtead of adopting ſo judicious an arrangement, the fleet had unfortunately come to anchor in the moſt intermixed manner: and in the midſt of this heap of confuſion was the Commodore's ſhip, the Romney of fifty guns. Happily, however, the Hero of ſeventy-four, the Monmouth, of ſixty-four, and the Jupiter of fifty guns, were on the outer-moſt range, and theſe ſaved the whole from deſtruction. No veſſel was kept cruizing in the offing to give early notice of an enemy's approach, and on the 16th of April no ſuch approach ſeems to have been expected: for, on that day, great numbers of the different crews were on ſhore, ſome employed in the various ſervices of watering, embarking live cattle, obtaining fruits and vegetables, others in fiſhing, and many taking a little recreation. The whole number abſent amounting to about fifteen hundred perſons. The Commodore, diſpleaſed with the ſituation of his fleet, was alſo abſent, giving directions for ſome ſhips which had drifted too near each other to remove, when the Iſis of fifty guns, which, with a fireſhip and a bomb ketch, had, on their return from the Iſland of May, anchored farther out in the bay than any of the fleet, made the ſignal about half paſt nine in the morning, for ſeeing eleven ſail in the offing towards the N. E. The Commodore, immediately on obſerving this, returned on board the Romney, and made the ſignal for all perſons to come from the ſhore, and to repair on board of their reſpective ſhips. This ſignal was enforced by the repeated firing of guns; and a boat was ſent to the ſhore, with orders to expedite the re-embarkation as much as poſſible. A ſignal was likewiſe made to unmoor, and another to prepare for battle. The Commodore then went on board the Iſis, from which he plainly diſcovered five large ſhips of the line, and ſeveral ſmaller ſhips, ſtanding in for the land. By this time, M. de Suffren had ſeparated his line of battle ſhips from his convoy, and was making ſignals by ſuperior and inferior flags, which enabled the Commodore to determine with certainty that they were French ſhips. He then returned on board the Romney, calling to the Eaſt India ſhips, as he paſſed and repaſſed, to prepare for battle. A quarter before eleven, the ſtrange ſhips appeared coming round the eaſt point of land, drawn up in a line of battle a-head and leading into the bay. That they intended to attack the King's fleet was then pretty evident; for they had ſprings which were paſſed to their cables along the outſide of their

ſhips;

ſhips: and although the port was neutral, it is a well known fact, that the French, when it ſuited their conveniency, or when they poſſeſſed a ſuperior force, were ſeldom ſcrupulous in reſpecting ſuch rights. Beſides, as the Portugueſe fort and garriſon were utterly incapable of affording protection to the fleet, or of maintaining the rights of ſovereignty, there was every reaſon to conclude, that theſe would be little regarded. The Commodore was not therefore diſappointed in conjecturing, that a battle was at hand.

" Never was the Britiſh fleet attacked at ſo much diſadvantage as this. Beſides the injudicious poſition in which it was found by the enemy, it ſuffered from various other embarraſſments. One of theſe was, that the decks of moſt of the ſhips were encumbered with water caſks and live ſtock, for the removal of which, the ſuddenneſs of the attack did not allow ſufficient time. It proved a moſt fortunate circumſtance for the Britiſh, that M. de Suffren was either badly ſeconded by his Captains, or that he did not, on this occaſion, diſplay thoſe eminent abilities, which ſhone with ſo much luſtre, in the many hard battles which he afterwards fought with Sir Edward Hughes in the Eaſt Indies. He deprived himſelf of the ſuperiority of force which he poſſeſſed, by attacking the Britiſh ſquadron with three ſhips only, and allowing his other two ſhips to get into the thick of their fleet, for the purpoſe of making prizes. With great appearance of reſolution and courage the French ſquadron advanced; and their Commodore led on, within two cables length of the Monmouth, Jupiter, and Hero, paſſing the Diana frigate, Terror bomb, and Infernal fireſhip, which lay without the reſt of the ſhips. When he had done this, M. de Suffren, in the Heros of ſeventy-four guns, hoiſted his bread pendant, and his ſquadron diſplayed their colours. He then hauled up his courſes, and fired two ſhot at the Iſis from his larboard bow as he luffed up. Immediately after that, permitting his ſhip to ſhoot up in the wind, as far as the force with which ſhe was ſailing would carry her, he dropt his anchor a-breaſt of the Monmouth, and began to fire as faſt as poſſible at the different ſhips. His ſails, however, were then flying in the greateſt confuſion, ſo that the ſpring which he had on his cable did not hold, when the ſhip was checked to bring up; and he drove a-breaſt of the Hero of ſeventy-four guns.

" No ſooner had the French Commodore fired his two guns at the Iſis, than that ſhip, ſeconded by the Hero, Moumouth, and Jupiter, and aſſiſted by the Diana and other ſhips, opened every gun they could bring to bear upon the enemy, with great power and effect, Commodore Johnſtone making the ſignal for battle at the ſame time. The Annibal of ſeventy-four guns, commanded by Mr. de Tremignon, was the next ſhip that followed M. de Suffren, anchored a-head of him, and commenced a furious cannonade. The next of the enemy's ſhips was the Arteſien of ſixty-four guns, commanded by a M. de Cardillac. She endeavoured to paſs through the Britiſh fleet, in order to attack the Romney: but being unable to effect this, ſhe anchored aſtern of their Commodore, and continued to engage there for a ſhort time, with her ſails unfurled and flying about, until ſhe boarded the Fortitude and Hinchinbrook Eaſt India ſhips. Her Captain being then killed, ſhe put to ſea. The Vengeur, the fourth French ſhip, ran on different lines, luffing and bearing up as ſhe paſſed among the ſkirts of the Britiſh ſhips, but in ſo great confuſion, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty that ſhe was able to clear the reaf of rocks, which ſtretches out from the weſt point of the bay. The Sphynx of ſixty-four guns was their fifth ſhip. She alſo run in among the convoy, firing at

every

every one of them within her reach; and as ſhe paſſed along, endeavoured to board ſeveral, but in every attempt was foiled.

"The unfortunate ſituation of the Romney was ſuch, that ſhe was in a great meaſure deprived of her ſhare of the glory that fell to the ſhips which repulſed the enemy. She could fire only a few of her guns, through openings, of which it required great management to avail herſelf, without injuring the convoy. Being thus cut off from taking an active part in the engagement, Commodore Johnſtone, accompanied by General Medows, went on board of the Hero, then in warm action, and keeping up a tremendous fire. When the battle had continued about twenty minutes, moſt of the India ſhips and ſtore-ſhips had recovered from their ſurpriſe, and kept up a fire which greatly annoyed the enemy. Nothing could exceed the courage diſplayed on this occaſion, by ſuch of his Majeſty's ſhips as were engaged. Though oppoſed to ſhips that carried much heavier metal than they did, fighting near an hour, they rendered the ſituation of the French Commodore ſo unpleaſant, that he was glad to follow the example of his ſecond aſtern, by cutting his cable and getting out of the bay in the beſt manner he could. The Annibal was now the only ſhip that the enemy had in action: and ſhe of courſe became the object at which the whole fire of the Britiſh fleet was directed: ſhe was ſoon completely diſabled: her ſails and rigging were demoliſhed, all her maſts went by the board, and even a piece of her bowſprit tumbled along with them into the water. The fire which ſhe returned, when in this dreadful ſituation, was ſlow and ineffectual: her colours were ſhot away; and ſome ſuppoſed that ſhe had ſtruck. This, however, was denied by her crew, who fired ſome guns after that accident. Having remained in this woeful condition for about a quarter of an hour, ſhe cut her cable, went round on her heel, drove before the wind, which then blew pretty freſh from the ſhore, and ſoon rejoined M. de Suffren, who waited for her at the entrance of the bay, in order to cover her retreat, leſt, in her diſabled ſtate, ſhe ſhould have been purſued by the frigates of the Britiſh ſquadron.

"Upon the retreat of the Annibal, Commodore Johnſtone returned to his ſhip the Romney, on which his broad pendant had been flying during the whole time of the engagement, and made a ſignal for all the Captains to come on board. After hearing the condition of every ſhip in the ſquadron, he gave orders for the ſhips of war to cut and ſlip, as faſt as they could get to ſea, in order to follow up the victory: and likewiſe directed every ſhip that was in their way to ſlip their cables alſo, that nothing might impede his Majeſty's ſhips in the purſuit of the enemy. It is greatly to be lamented, that while this was doing, the Commodore had not left orders with the Captain of ſome ſloop of war, or with the commander of ſome of the armed tranſports, to conduct the convoy to a proper rendezvous, whilſt he, with all the capital ſhips, frigates, and San Carlos armed ſtoreſhip, went to attack the enemy; leſt he ſhould be carried ſo far by the purſuit, or ſo diſabled in the action, as not to be able to beat up again to the iſland of St. Jago. A few minutes would have been ſufficient for giving this order; and no danger could have accrued to the convoy, from being conducted to the rendezvous by ſo ſlender an eſcort, for the fleet under M. de Suffren was the only force from which they had any thing to dread in theſe ſeas. This overſight ſaved the enemy's fleet from deſtruction."

Dr. Beatſon has introduced into theſe Memoirs many ſenſible and judicious obſervations on leading events, occurrences, and public

tranſactions. Take, for inſtance, his remarks on the Peace of Fontainbleau towards the cloſe of the ſecond volume:

"After the recital of ſuch glorious ſucceſſes, the reader will no doubt be greatly ſurprized to find how very inadequate was the peace juſt made; eſpecially when it is conſidered, that the King of Pruſſia's affairs were now taking a favourable turn, and that they required no conceſſions on our part to obtain better conditions for him. The ſame may be ſaid of the King of Portugal; while, by our ſucceſſes in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, the whole American dominions of Spain lay at our mercy. By this famous treaty of peace, we gained, in America, the whole province of Canada, with the iſlands of St. John and Cape Breton, and all that part of Louiſiana which lies on the eaſt of the river Miſſiſſippi, the town of New Orleans excepted, and the free navigation of the river Miſſiſſippi. The French were permitted to fiſh on the banks of Newfoundland, under certain limitations. The iſlands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, were ceded to them for curing of their fiſh, and the conducting of their fiſhery; but they were not to erect any fortifications there, or to keep a garriſon ſtronger than fifty men. Spain to relinquiſh her claim to fiſh on the banks of Newfoundland. Great Britain to be permitted to cut logwood, and build houſes, but not to erect fortifications. All fortifications that were erected, to be demoliſhed. Spain to reſtore any places ſhe may have conquered in Portugal, and to cede to Great Britain the province of Florida; in conſideration of which, Great Britain was to reſtore the Havannah and its dependencies to Spain. Martinico, Gaudaloupe, Marigalante, to be reſtored to France, together with the neutral iſland of St. Lucia. Great Britain to retain the Grenades and Grenadines, with the neutral iſlands of Dominica, St. Vincent, and Tobago. In Europe, the iſland of Minorca to be reſtored to Great Britain, and the iſland of Belleiſle to France. The fortifications of Dunkirk to be demoliſhed. In Africa, Great Britain was to retain Senegal, and reſtore the iſland of Goree to France. In Aſia, all our conqueſts made from France in this part of the globe, to be reſtored; but with this reſtriction, that ſhe was to erect no fortification in the province of Bengal.

"The terms of the peace were loudly arraigned; yet, at the ſame time, they had many advocates in their defence. The immenſe extent of our American dominions, now that Great Britain can call Canada and Florida her own, would leave our American ſubjects at full liberty to purſue their different avocations, without any European power diſturbing them. The natives could be eaſily kept in awe, when unſupported. The proſpects held out for improvements in commerce, were boundleſs; and promiſed adventurers ſuch immenſe returns, as would gratify the utmoſt avidity. Such was the language of the friends of Adminiſtration; but thoſe attached to the Oppoſition, and they were not a few, drew a very different picture. The full ſecurity, exclaimed they, that is to be enjoyed by the Americans, will not tend to the advantage of Britain, when they have nothing to fear. They will forget the favours they have received from the mother country, when they are no longer in need of her ſupport. They will endeavour to aggrandize themſelves, and get clear of the controul with which their commerce is fettered; and when the temper of the firſt emigrants to the weſtern continent was reviewed, gratitude and loyalty could not be ſuppoſed to be ingrafted on their deſcendants. In their opinion, Canada ſhould have been reſtored to France; the limits of Nova Scotia extended; the iſlands of Cape Breton and St. John retained; and France excluded from the Newfoundland fiſhery. Spain ſhould have been permitted

permitted to keep Florida; it never was an object worth the contending for; and conſidering that the Britiſh poſſeſſed the key to the Spaniſh Weſt Indies, as long as they held the Havannah, they ſhould not have parted with it, without a very valuable conſideration;—a part of the iſland of Hiſpaniola, or the iſland of Porto Rico, and our right to the logwood trade eſtabliſhed; a territory on the Spaniſh Main in the bay of Honduras, and bay of Campeachy, ceded to us, together with the iſland of Rattan, for which the Spaniards ſhould have had the iſland of Minorca. The French ſhould have either been obliged to yield up their half of the iſland of Hiſpaniola, or the iſland of Guadaloupe and its dependencies, to Great Britain. Belleiſle to be reſtored to them, with Gorée in Africa. It ſhould likewiſe have been a ſtipulation between our Court and that of Madrid, that if the enterprize againſt the Philippine iſlands proved ſucceſsful, an equivalent ſhould have been given before they were reſtored. Had this been the caſe, one of thoſe iſlands might have been ſecured to us; and by means of it, we might have become rivals to the Dutch in the ſpice trade. But by the terms of peace, the beſt opportunity was loſt of humbling the pride of the Houſe of Bourbon that ever was, or perhaps ever will be again in the power of Great Britain."

Theſe Memoirs are well calculated for affording the public both intereſting amuſement and much uſeful information. And an attentive peruſal may be attended with the greateſt advantage to naval officers, and particularly young gentlemen of that profeſſion. For faithful deſcriptions of the ſplendid achievements of naval commanders furniſh profitable inſtruction and uſeful patterns for imitation; and correct accounts or delineations of the miſtakes and blunders of individuals contribute greatly to prevent the commiſſion of ſimilar ones by others.

This country, by her inſular ſituation, is naturally commercial. Her proſperity is inſeparably connected with the encouragement, protection, and advancement of her commerce. So ſtrongly is this idea impreſſed on the minds of Britiſh ſubjects, that our negotiators themſelves, inſtead of looking forward to futurity, inſtead of having the whole globe as it were before their eyes (as every perſon intruſted with negotiation ought to have), have ſometimes ſacrificed her diſtant, and beſt political intereſts to near and immediate proſpects of commercial advantages. Our commerce, however, cannot flouriſh for any length of time without the protection of our navy. And from its great and ſplendid ſucceſſes, it muſt be allowed, that the ſtate itſelf has frequently, in time of war, derived pecuniary aid and aſſiſtance.

We are convinced that the author has been indefatigable in his exertions to obtain accurate information on the tranſactions he has deſcribed, and we believe that his deſcriptions of naval operations may be relied on. He does not profeſs to give a complete narrative of our co temporary military operations. It is often, indeed, extremely difficult for a perſon in his ſituation to get exactly at truth reſpecting theſe and the cauſes that regulate and influence them, which frequently, in official accounts themſelves, are induſtriouſly kept out of ſight, and thus, when they meet the public eye, they are in ſome meaſure cloaked and diſguiſed. Even in thoſe, who are ſpectators of them, much candour

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and good ſenſe, as well as accuracy of obſervation, are requiſite to enable them to deſcribe them fairly and correctly, and to trace their cauſes to their true and genuine ſource. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at, that Dr. Beatſon, with the hiſtorians of the American war, has fallen into ſeveral miſtakes in regard to military enterprizes and operations at the commencement, and during the progreſs of that rebellion, particularly thoſe in Canada. Theſe, however, we conſider, as having been on his part unavoidable, and mention them, not with the ſmalleſt intention of leſſening, in the public opinion, the value and importance of this work, which is certainly entitled to a moſt favourable reception. But we cannot help obſerving, that he aſcribes to the then Governor of Canada, merit, which belonged to others, whilſt he takes no notice whatſoever of his almoſt unparalleled blunders, miſtaken confidence and ſecurity, weakneſs, want of foreſight, energy, and contrivance, that loſt us every poſt in that extenſive province, Quebec alone excepted, which was ſaved by other hands. The gates of that place remained open for twenty-four hours after Colonel Arnold appeared before it, who, unable to account for ſo extraordinary a circumſtance, ſummoned a council of war to deliberate with his principal officers, whether he ſhould not attempt to penetrate through them into the town. The council was of opinion, that he ought not, naturally enough ſuppoſing that they were left open as a decoy for them, with an intention to entnare them. Arnold never afterwards mentioned the circumſtance without regretting that he thought of conſulting any of his officers on the occaſion. Had he indeed acted with his uſual promptitude, he would have got poſſeſſion of the place without reſiſtance. The Lieutenant Governor was panic-ſtruck, and having received no inſtructions from the Governor about its ſafety, could not be prevailed on by Colonel Maclean, or any other perſon, to give any directions for its ſecurity. That officer, who ought always to be regarded as the principal preſerver of that important poſt, finding this to be the caſe, took the buſineſs into his own hands, ordered the gates to be ſhut, ſome guns to be pointed and fired at the enemy, and went about among the merchants, and other inhabitants, exhorting and encouraging them to ſtep forward manfully in defence of themſelves and their property, and to ſhare the duties of the garriſon with the few men under his command, which they readily and chearfully aſſented to. It is not our province at preſent to give an hiſtorical narration of any tranſactions whatever. The time, however, is not, perhaps, far diſtant, when an account of all the military operations in that extenſive colony, from the beginning to the end of the American rebellion, with a developement of the cauſes that influenced them, and of thoſe that chiefly occaſioned the failure of the two expeditions from it under General Burgoyne and Colonel St. Leger in 1777, may be preſented to public view in the plain undiſguiſed garb of truth.

We are alſo too well acquainted with Marquis Cornwallis's proceedings in America, and the affair of York-town, to ſubſcribe implicitly

citly to the exceſſive praiſe beſtowed by Dr. Beatſon on that General's conduct, as able, judicious, and wiſe. His favourite ſcheme of penetrating into, and over-running Virginia with ſuch a force as he commanded, in ſpite of the numerous difficulties and unforeſeen incidents, which he neither reckoned on encountering, nor was capable beforehand of forming a juſt eſtimate of, was from the firſt a wild project. He was under no abſolute neceſſity of going to York-town; and after he took a poſition there, he occupied it injudiciouſly. He embarraſſed himſelf in ſome meaſure by his unſkilful movements; and although he had every claim to goodneſs of intention, he certainly, without achieving any thing material or advantageous to the cauſe he was engaged in, brought on, by his own miſmanagement and want of military capacity, that cataſtrophe, which ſevered from this country the moſt of her American colonies, and drew to a cloſe that tedious and very expenſive tragi-comical ſcene, which, by vigorous meaſures, and well-conducted operations, might have been completely finiſhed in leſs than three months after its commencement.

A General View of the Writings of Linnæus. By Richard Pulteney, M. D. F. R. S. Second Edition, with Additions, and Memoirs of the Author, by W. G. Maton, M. D. F. R. S. Vice-Preſident of the Linnæan Society, &c. To which is annexed, the Diary of Linnæus, written by himſelf. Pp. 595. 4to. 1l. 11s. 6d. boards. Mawman. 1805.

TO praiſe is, doubtleſs, more agreeable than to cenſure: he is a malignant man to whom it is not more congenial; he is a weak one in whom it is a habit, and a baſe one in whom it originates in an intereſted motive. The preſent age is not wanting in ſuch writers, whoſe vapid eulogies form a ſtriking contraſt with the ruthleſs effuſions of pre-determined ſatire. Both equally corrupt public taſte; both circumvent genuine moral ſentiment; and neither the partial praiſe of friends, nor the ſatire, ſtill leſs the invective, of enemies, can ever be conſidered as bearing any relation to the noble and ſolemn character of criticiſm. The ſacred duty of the critic is much more exalted than many of theſe writers ſeem to comprehend; and it neceſſarily requires all the conſcientious fidelity of bearing witneſs between man and man, and the accurate knowledge of an enlightened and upright judge, who ſums up the *pro* and *con*, with perſpicuity and impartiality, to the final deciſion of a jury—the literary public. He who would affect to become a critic from motives of perſonal revenge, is a monſter whoſe heinous atrocity language is unable to deſcribe; and he whoſe unprincipled vanity and ignorance induce him to court the influence of domeſtic or ſocial friendſhip to bias public judgment, betrays at once the folly and knavery of thoſe who would ſeparate honour from virtue,

tue, and wiſh for applauſe at the expence of truth and moral rectitude. We regret to think that ſuch characters are not merely imaginary; and all who conſider the influence of literature on the moſt worthy and uſeful claſs of ſociety, muſt acknowledge a neceſſity for the exerciſe of the higheſt candour and juſtice in works of criticiſm. Poſſeſſing, as we do, the moſt unlimited liberty of diſcuſſion, in a national view, it is the part of wiſdom to enjoy it without abuſe. Its abuſe in any ſhape, indeed, is an evil more to be dreaded at preſent than any other with which we are, or likely to be, threatened. Eſtimating then the volume before us, with that impartial juſtice due, as well to the author as the public, it is with reluctance that we are compelled to object to its expenſive magnitude, and to its contents, which are too often trifling, and even diſhonorable to ſcience. Of the juſtneſs of this opinion, our readers will be convinced in the progreſs of our analyſis. As to the object of the work, we readily admit its general utility. A knowledge of ſyſtems, though extremely apt to engender vanity and habits of too ſuperficial thinking, is nevertheleſs favourable to the diſcovery of analogies in nature, to quickneſs of perception, methodical arrangement, perſpicuity, and facility, that tend to correct the eccentricities, and ſtrengthen the powers, of the youthful mind. There is nothing, however, that requires ſuch a rigid exerciſe of the judgment, as the application of ſyſtems to our obſervations of natural objects; and the utmoſt care ſhould be taken not to contract the habit of viewing things through a ſyſtem, inſtead of previouſly contemplating features, and afterwards contraſting analogies whence a ſyſtem ſhould naturally ariſe. It is, indeed, juſtly obſerved by Locke, that ſyſtem-makers always bring ſomething to our knowledge; but it ought to be remembered, that there is a great difference between the original genius that forms, and that which implicitly adopts, ſyſtems, and that the latter oftener impede than accelerate the progreſs of real knowledge. The general tendency of the preſent work will appear in the ſequel.

Dr. Maton commences with a preface, in which he endeavours to account for the origin and progreſs of the extraordinary document that *he* calls the "Diary of Linnæus," until it came into his poſſeſſion. It appears, indeed, in a very "queſtionable ſhape;" but the editor diſcovers ſo little addreſs in the management of facts and dates, that we feel little diſpoſed to aſcribe it to him. On the contrary, in the very attempt to elucidate, he has ſtrangely perplexed the moſt ſimple and common occurrences in life; and the ſchoolboy that would be confuſed with ſo plain a caſe, would be more likely to ſuffer from the whip of his maſter, than from the envy of his companions. We ſhall ſtate the preſumed facts, from which Dr. M. has had the ingenuity to infer contradictory ſuppoſitions, merely by neglecting or forgetting the common artifice or mode of apologiſing for the introduction of ſuch groſs ſelf-approbation as would otherwiſe neceſſarily convict its author of extravagant vanity. Perhaps, indeed, Dr. M.'s devotion to

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his great maſter prevented him from thinking, that any apology for ſuch writing was neceſſary on the part of Linnæus, or ever once ſuſpecting the exiſtence of this naturaliſt's inflated vanity: if ſo, we pity him moſt ſincerely.

It appears, that Linnæus, in 1762, wrote to his friend Archbiſhop Menander, that "he had drawn up his own panegyric," his "*curriculum vitæ*," and, with a due ſenſe of ſhame, obſerves, that "*propria laus ſordet*, he ſhould not have mentioned it to any other perſon." In 1769, he again reverts to his *curriculum vitæ*, in one of his letters, and apologizes, on account of his age, for his glaring ſelf-love. In January 1770, menaced by diſeaſe, and alarmed by the death of many of his old friends, Linnæus finally reſolved to ſend it to the Archbiſhop, that he ſhould tranſlate it into Latin, and ſend it to the French Academy. The *curriculum vitæ*, abſurdly and erroneouſly tranſlated "Diary," is continued to the end of 1769; yet Dr. M. is grievouſly embarraſſed to account for its being mentioned by Linnæus in 1762, with the ſomewhat modeſt, apologetical expreſſion, *propria laus ſordet*, and ſtrangely ſuppoſes, that it was forwarded at that period, but not received by the Archbiſhop till 1770! In oppoſition to dates, our author makes this ſuppoſition, that implies a conſciouſneſs of much of the Diary, at leaſt the latter part, being merely a fabrication, although he gives a tranſlation of one of Linnæus's letters, in which he expreſsly mentions the day (in January 1770), and perſon, by whom he had ſent his memoirs to Dr. Menander. Of this diſgraceful medley we ſhall ſpeak hereafter; but we cannot help regarding it, if not entirely, at leaſt by far the greater part, as ſpurious; the effuſions of a dotard, and a groſs inſult to the memory of this moſt induſtrious and ſyſtematic author. It is, indeed, acknowledged to have been written by different perſons, and therefore ought not to have been foiſted on the public as the genuine production of Linnæus.

To the "Memoirs of Dr. Pulteney," we turned with all that eagerneſs which the remembrance of the latter days of a friend excites, for a more complete knowledge of him in his youthful moments. Notwithſtanding the indefiniteneſs of the term Memoirs, it ſtill raiſes our expectation of meeting with ſome new information of the origin, progreſs, particular characteriſtic, and final departure of a character ſomewhat diſtinguiſhed above the maſs of ſociety. We expected, at leaſt, ſome account of his method of ſtudy, peculiar bias of his mind, and mode of thinking; his paſſions, virtues, and vices; his acts of munificence and philanthropy (if any); and, above all, the *means* by which he acquired his knowledge, and ſo extenſive a fortune in an obſcure country-town (Blandford, Dorſet), that it might be uſeful to ſucceeding generations. Theſe are points which Dr. M. has either totally neglected, or very ſlightly touched; and he muſt be very little curious who would be ſatisfied with the ſcanty, and not always accurate, information that is contained in our author's thirty quarto pages. Had the editor conſulted Dr. Arnold of Leiceſter, or the Philoſophical

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Magazine for 1802, he would have found ſome more authentic and uſeful information reſpecting the ſubject of his Memoirs.

It is ſtated, that Dr. R. Pulteney was born in 1730, at Loughborough, in Leiceſterſhire; that, of thirteen children, he was the only one who attained maturity: that, being educated in the Calviniſtic faith, he was early apprenticed to a (diſſenting) apothecary, with only the rudiments of a grammar-ſchool education; and that from his uncle, Mr. G. Tomlinſon of Hathern, he imbibed a taſte for botany and natural hiſtory. From Dr. Arnold, a pupil of Dr. P. we learn, that, by the example and inſtruction of Mr. Tomlinſon, he began to form catalogues of plants, and a Hortus Siccus, at the early age of eight or nine years; and that at twelve, in 1742, he diſcovered the *campanula patula* in Buddon Wood, the ſeeds of which he afterwards ſent to the botanic gardens of Chelſea, and the Britiſh Muſeum. About this period of his juvenile labours in botany, he was principally aſſiſted by the immortal writings of Ray, and the wooden cuts of flowers, with the vulgar deſcriptions then in uſe. Theſe extraordinary indications of early talents and particular taſte are, perhaps, rarely ſucceeded, as in the preſent ſubject, by an adequate production of genius and induſtry, and ought not to have been totally omitted by Dr. M. In 1750 he began to write, and diſpatched his anonymous communications to the Gentleman's Magazine, a dry catalogue of which are here given, to the extent of twenty different ſubjects of botanical knowledge, beſides ſome botanical and medical papers, communicated to the Royal Society. Dr. P. continued in the very limited ſphere of a village apothecary, purſuing his botanical ſtudies, until 1764, when, by great good fortune, he had become acquainted with that veteran friend of talents and virtue, Dr. Garthſhore, who not only urged him to accompany him to Edinburgh, to be examined for a phyſician, but, by his connection and influence in that Univerſity, procured him the degree of Doctor of Phyſic, without his having ever ſtudied in any college or regular ſchool of medicine, and contrary to the eſtabliſhed laws of that Univerſity. This ſolitary and unprecedented approbation of genuine merit ſtill remains without imitation, and is equally honourable to the judgment of the patron, the perſon patronized, and to the approving college, as no two profeſſors were ever farther removed from thoſe arts of quackery that diſgrace many regular, but weak-minded, phyſicians of the preſent age. Our editor negligently omits or miſrepreſents part of this circumſtance, which forms an epoch in the hiſtory of Dr. P. that gave a new character and deſtination to the remainder of his life; and in gratitude for which he not only continued to entertain the livelieſt eſteem for his early friend, Dr. Garthſhore, but left him at his death a handſome legacy, and another on the demiſe of Mrs. Pulteney.

On the few characteriſtic ſketches of Dr. P. with which our author (we regret that we cannot ſay, biographer) entertains us, we muſt be permitted ſome obſervations. We would not detract from merit, nor withhold

withhold its due reward, ſtill leſs cenſure the partiality of gratitude and friendſhip, with ſome modern pſeudo-moraliſts; but we muſt ever deprecate all attempts to exalt the merits of one character by a diſingenuous depreciation of others. When the editor tells us, that Dr. P. "ſtudiouſly kept himſelf aloof from the petty diſſenſions and cabals which ſo frequently ſubſiſt in a country town," he gives an example of prudence: when he adds, "being fully aware that too great a familiarity of intercourſe with the general maſs of the people, is deſtructive of that reſpect which it ought to be the firſt object of a phyſician to ſecure, he preferred remaining at his poſt, in converſe with his books." he expreſſes a melancholy truth, of monaſtic origin, that ſhews the neceſſity of policy rather than virtue to acquire diſtinction. The iſolated ſituation of Dr. P. preſcribed to him the power of evincing the truth or falſehoood of the following aſſertion. "He was no leſs anxious to preſerve independence and dignity of character among his medical brethren, neither entering into any of thoſe *humiliating leagues*, nor courting any of thoſe *intereſted intimacies*, which are ſo *frequent* between different orders of practitioners." We ſhall leave this inſinuation to the conſideration of certain honorary quacks, who have accumulated fortunes rather by their ſpeculations on humanity, than by the number of cures that they have effected; to aſſociated profeſſors, and to the contempt of the more open, diſintereſted, upright, and philoſophical part of this moſt uſeful profeſſion. We doubt not but the editor is correct, in aſſerting Dr. P.'s "conſcientious diſcharge of his profeſſional duties," as that was the moſt probable means of augmenting his fortune; and that he enjoyed a conſiderable portion of domeſtic happineſs, although the ſubſequent ſplendour and luxury of his widow are no proofs of it, nor of her ſatisfaction with her former enjoyments. Dr. P.'s natural delicacy of conſtitution, his never being bleſſed with a family, and his unceaſing devotion to his botanical ſtudies, contributed no little to limit his ſocial pleaſures, and conſequently his domeſtic entertainments. The latter, we preſume, conſiſted principally in receiving letters from his philoſophical friends, among whom, it is ſaid with much truth, that Mr. Lambert was particularly diſtinguiſhed. In the enumeration of Dr. P.'s literary communications, however reſpectable and important they may be in the hiſtories of Leiceſterſhire and Dorſetſhire, they will gain little honour, we fear, from their collocation in that ſuperficial ſkeleton, Aikin's "England Delineated," long ſince irrecoverably ſunk in oblivion. The concluding character of the author is drawn in Dr. M.'s beſt manner.

"The powers of his (Pulteney's) mind ſhewed no ſigns of approaching imbecillity: neither had that torpor crept upon his feelings which is ſo apt, in advanced life, to diminiſh the activity of benevolence, and to make the greateſt profeſſional experience ſurvive its own utility. His whole conduct was guided by the ſtricteſt integrity, and the moſt ſcrupulous ſenſe of honour. No man ever maintained more uniformly a ſpirit of independence, and that conſcious dignity of mind which never ſuffered him to deſcend to the

the meanneſs or hypocriſy of a courtier *. The ſame ſelf-reſpect withheld him from deviating into the ſmalleſt ſpecies of intemperance: ſo exemplarily pure were his habits, that no expreſſion ever fell from his lips that indicated the ſlighteſt indelicacy of thought, or even the fainteſt tincture of profaneneſs. His manners were remarkable for their ſimplicity, and, among thoſe whom he loved, exhibited all the amiable playfulneſs † and unreſervedneſs of unſophiſticated youth. In his intercourſe with the world, he was generally ſomewhat reſerved; yet, to the young and inquiſitive, he was remarkably communicative. Poſſeſſing a mind candid, liberal, and enlightened, he abhorred every ſpecies of conceit and dogmatiſm; and, with an uniform, unequivocal reſpect for religion ‡, he united none of the prejudices of the ſectary, nor did his notions of it ever claſh with the ſpeculations of rational philoſophy."

Believing it more conducive to public good to record virtues than vices, we, of courſe, ſubſcribe to this character; and we could have pardoned even a more animated tribute of gratitude to the memory of a friend, for the valuable donation of many intereſting MSS. But we have our doubts, that the Doctor's "reſpect for religion" was rather the effect of early education than of real piety and rational belief; that the undiminiſhed "activity of his benevolence," in attending patients until his death, might not be a little influenced by the conſoling certainty of its reward; that, menaced as he was with diſeaſe, and devoted to his favourite ſtudy, temperance was in him rather a neceſſary habit than a virtue; and that, from the tenor of his life, we can with much more certainty pronounce him rather without vice than a man of active virtue. The charitable ſphere of a country phyſician is ſtill more limited than that of his practice; and it is not with him as with a London practitioner, that in proportion as his popularity increaſes, ſo does the number of claimants on his humanity. The joint influence of diſtance and diſeaſe preſent an inſurmountable obſtacle to any great increaſe of poor patients beyond thoſe of the particular village, whilſt

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* We truſt the author will bluſh on re-reading this ſentence, ſo unjuſtly and baſely aimed at one of the worthieſt men of the preſent age. It may indeed be one of the many examples of philoſophers uſing vulgar phraſes, for which they have really *no* ideas, and, if ſo, it is ſtill reprehenſible.—Rev.

† Surely Dr. M. has tranſcribed this ſentence from ſome popular work, and inſerted it here by miſtake. Dr. P. whoſe high Calviniſtic education had, at an early period, extinguiſhed the genuine ſentiment of piety, was one of thoſe men, of auſtere, puritanical manners, who delight more in external forms than in liberal or rational principles, and who alike repreſs every ſentiment of innocent mirth and of benevolence. "He was *always* reſerved in the extreme; cloſe and *ſecret* for his own intereſt."—Rev.

‡ Was this reſpect evinced by abandoning the Diſſenters, only to ſhow a more decided indifference to every ſentiment of piety; by abſenting himſelf from all religious communication, only to prove the ſuperiority of his judgment; and by a ſovereign contempt for all religious or devotional writings? the

the eager hopes of ſpeedy relief attract ſuch numbers of citizens that afford an inexhauſtible field for the acquiſition and diſplay of knowledge and benevolence. Had Dr. Pulteney's time been more occupied in adminiſtering relief to the poor and diſtreſſed, and his purſe oftener opened to the voluntary ſupport of numerous charitable inſtitutions, he would have had leſs time for botanizing, ſtill leſs would he have bequeathed the enormous ſum of 40,000l.; but he would have been a much more exalted character in the eſtimation of impartial poſterity. For his talents, although they were not pre-eminent, we entertain a due reſpect; and if his liberality and private munificence (for death-bed charities are nothing) were as well aſcertained, his reputation would have been much more general and permanent. As it is, his parſimony and his heirleſs fortune will be but cited as apologies for extravagance and diſſipation. Had his editor duly appreciated theſe circumſtances, and conſulted his own intereſt and reputation, he would not for a moment have diſturbed the peaceful repoſe of the author and his works, by publiſhing this ſplendid volume, the greateſt uſe of which will be, from its fine paper and large margins, the formation of three claſſed common-place books for ſome future "Diaries" of ſtudents in natural hiſtory.

With the "General View of the Writings of Linnæus," the botanical public is long well acquainted; and, however novel and important it might be on its firſt publication, the general diffuſion of natural knowledge has rendered it leſs intereſting at the preſent day. Perhaps, indeed, it has ſomewhat contributed to ſuperſede itſelf, by naturalizing, in a familiar manner, the works of the great Swediſh naturaliſt. The additions and alterations in this edition are, however, conſiderable; but we lament that the latter are not always improvements. Of the additions it may be remarked, that they illuſtrate the maxim—"A weak friend is the moſt dangerous enemy;" and the fame of Linnæus and Pulteney, if not materially injured, will be but little extended by Dr. Maton. We were indeed almoſt induced to believe, that he conſidered groſs vanity as a virtue in Linnæus, as he gravely informs us, that, in conſequence of ſome criticiſms on this naturaliſt, he violated the confidence of private friendſhip, by "publiſhing the various honourable teſtimonies given to his talents, and the exalted approbation expreſſed of his works by the moſt eminent men of ſcience then living. Theſe were given in diſtinct extracts of letters from the reſpective authors, without comment, and without even glancing at his opponents. This performance he entitled, *Orbis eruditi judicium de Caroli Linnæi, M. D. ſcriptis*, and prefaced it by ſome ſhort *memoranda* of his life, and a liſt of his works." Such conduct requires no comment; but we are ſurprized that it ſhould now be detailed to the world. It is regretted that we have no analyſis of the ſyſtems adopted ſubſequent to Linnæus, as that of Juſſieu, &c.; but the editor ought to have known, that M. Mouton-Fontoneille, of Lyons, has publiſhed a view of all the botanical ſyſtems that have appeared till 1802, with a necrological account of their authors. Our

editor alſo frequently aſcribes feelings and motives of action to Linnæus, on the aſſumed authority of the Diary, which are neither ſanctioned by that compilation, nor by fact, ſuch as his ſuppoſed diſlike of the medical profeſſion, &c. The account of Linnæus's diſcovery reſpecting pearls is extremely confuſed and imperfect; and the unauthenticated memorial in the Appendix, attributed to Archbiſhop Menander, ſeems rather an imitation of French gaſconade, than a grave petition. It is worthy of remark, and we thank Dr. Maton for the fact, that Linnæus was adjudged only a ſilver medal (a circumſtance which he prudently concealed), while his pupil Bergman received a gold one, for his anſwer to the queſtion, "How to diminiſh the damage done to fruit trees by the *larvæ* of inſects?" The fame of this chemiſt's mathematical accuracy will long ſurvive that of the botaniſt's claſſifications.

The arrangement of this analytical view is more ſtrictly chronological than formerly, and commences with the *Genera Morborum*, which are borrowed almoſt entirely from Sauvages. Linnæus's notions of animal life, taken from Newton's ideas of æther, are pitiably ſilly; yet, ſtrange to tell, the editor admires them for their *ingenuity!* On Dietetics, the favourite work of ten years, we have only the boaſt, "*in his (diæteticis) plura collegi quam quod novi ullus alius.*" The Syſtema Naturæ, or view of the animal, vegetable, and mineral Kingdoms, comes next under our editor's review, in which he is ſtill more defective. If the original plan of Dr. P. admitted of any important improvement, it was certainly that of giving a tabular ſketch of all the ſubſequent ſyſtems in the different branches of natural hiſtory; and although Buffon has very few juſt claims to the title of naturaliſt, yet his extravagant notions, and the falſe brilliance of his language, have given a temporary popularity to his works, that renders a ſketch of his ſyſtem and that of La Cepede of ſome importance. By theſe means alſo the works of Linnæus would have been contraſted, and that merit, inſtead of reſting on bombaſtic and hyperbolical effuſions of blind admiration, would have been founded on reaſon and experience. The editor has indeed gratified us a little by ſome references to Shaw's Zoology and Latham's Birds, but very fortunately for theſe ingenious naturaliſts, he has not mangled their works by attempting to give a complete view of their ſyſtems.

On Entomology he ſeems ignorant of the excellent works of Fabricius, and only obſerves that, notwithſtanding the "*Entomologica ſyſtematice emendata*" of that author, the Linnean claſſification ſtill retains its original eſtimation, and *ought* not to be deviated from." Dr. M. ſhould have known that the ſyſtem of Fabricius is generally adapted on the Continent; that the Muſeum of Natural Hiſtory at Paris is arranged according to his claſſification, and that this authority, when oppoſed, as in the preſent caſe, to national vanity, is equal to "ſome of the firſt writers on the ſubject." All thoſe who aſpire to the character of naturaliſts ſhould be acquainted with the works of Fabricius. Latreille, and La Marck, thoſe "indefatigable *helmintholoģiſts* (as the editor

editor is pleaſed to call the profeſſors of this ſcience) later than the times of our author." The vice-preſident is no little aſtoniſhed that the number of inſects "deſcribed in Gmelin's edition of the Syſtema Naturæ amounts to nearly 11000:" how great will be his aſtoniſhment when he learns that in Fabricius the number exceeds 15000!!

In the enumeration of the Linnean claſſes of vegetables, that Withering and Sibthorp reduced to 20, the editor appears not to have known that the late Cavanilles, Profeſſor at Madrid, reduced them to 15! Among the preliminary notices in this miſcellany, we find the following account of the *origin* of the Sexual Syſtem.

"Linnæus had read in the Leipſic Commentaries a review of Vaillant's '*Diſcours ſur la Structure des Fleurs*,' by which he was induced to examine very cloſely the *ſtamina* and *piſtilla*. Theſe appendages he diſcovered to be eſſential to the vegetable, and to aſſume as much variety as the petals; and hence conceived that they might be made the foundation of a new ſyſtem, the firſt ſketch of which he drew up in oppoſition to an academical diſſertation by Peter Ugla, in 1729, entitled 'Γαμος φυτων, *ſive Nuptiæ Arborum*.' He preſented this little MS. tract to Celſius, who ſhewed it to Profeſſor Rudbeck; and the latter was ſo highly pleaſed with its novelty and ingenuity, that he immediately expreſſed a deſire to be made acquainted with the author, and ſhortly afterwards appointed him tutor to his children."

We are no little pleaſed with the delicacy and juſtneſs of the editor's compliment to the worthy Baronet, the Preſident of the Royal Society, whoſe talents and zeal for the diffuſion of uſeful knowledge poſterity will more juſtly appreciate. The hiſtorical view of the origin and progreſs of Engliſh writers on Britiſh Botany is not the leaſt intereſting part of the editor's additions.

"The firſt attempt to ſeparate the native from the exotic botany of this iſland was made by Dr. W. How, whoſe work is named *Phytologia Britannica, natales exhibens indigenarum Stirpium ſponte emergentium.* London, 1650. 12mo. The plants are arranged in alphabetical order, and are above 1200 in number: but it muſt be obſerved, that many of them are mere varieties, and ſtill more, not actually natives. This *Phytologia* was followed, in 1667, by the *Pinax Rerum Naturalium Britannicarum* of Dr. Merret, who profeſſing to ſupply How's deficiencies, enumerated 200 additional plants; many of theſe, however, were as little entitled to places in a Britiſh Flora as others introduced by How. The accurate Ray, who publiſhed his *Catalogus Plantarum Angliæ*, only three years afterwards, did not venture to regiſter more than 1050: but to this number he afterwards added about 50, in the new edition of his catalogue, printed in 1677, and at length in the ſecond edition of his *Synopſis Methodica Stirpium Britannicarum*, (1696, 8vo.) he augmented the liſt to full 1600 ſpecies, of which few have ſince been expunged, ſo cautious was this excellent botaniſt not to admit doubtful natives into his enumeration. In the year 1724, ſome time after the death of Ray, a third edition of his *Synopſis* was publiſhed by Dillenius, containing 450 additional ſpecies, on the authority of various contemporary botaniſts, but more eſpecially of the editor himſelf, and of Drs. Sherard and Richardſon. From the pen of an obſcure individual, named Wilſon, the *Synopſis* aſſumed, in 1774, an Engliſh dreſs, and, by the addition of a botanical dictionary, and ſeveral figures, became

well calculated to render the ſcience more generally underſtood in the country: indeed this work is to be conſidered as the firſt methodical *Flora* of England publiſhed in the vernacular language. None of theſe writers, however the ſcientific had been ſubſtituted for alphabetical arrangement from the time of Ray, had as yet attended ſufficiently to genuine ſpecific diſtinctions. Hence the 2200 plants contained in Dillenius's edition of the Synopſis did not ſtand the teſt of Linnean rules, which reduced the *Flora Anglica* very conſiderably; ſo that Hudſon, in the firſt edition of his work, bearing that title, (1762, 8vo.) did not include in it more than 1566 ſpecies. The *Flora* of Hudſon was the earlieſt performance (if we except the *Flora Britannica* of Hill, which ſcarcely deſerves mention here) that profeſſed to deſcribe in a complete manner, agreeably to the ſyſtem of Linnæus, the native plants of theſe iſlands. To this work, which came to a new edition, and was much augmented in 1778, ſucceeded the "Botanical Arrangement of Britiſh Plants," by Dr. Withering (in 1776), who, though not the firſt * writer that publiſhed the Britiſh Linnean Flora in Engliſh, has been excelled by none in his endeavours to render the ſtudy of indigenous botany eaſy and uſeful to his countrymen in general. The "Botanical Arrangement," after having gone through three editions, (the laſt of which was completed in 1790,) increaſed the Britiſh Catalogue to 2600 plants. In 1790, an elegant ſeries of figures was commenced by Mr. Sowerby, which, with the deſcriptions of Dr. Smith accompanying them, renders Engliſh botany more ſuſceptible of being eaſily ſtudied than ever, and with the new *Flora Britannica*, of which the ſcientific ſtudent is anxiouſly awaiting the completion, may be conſidered as eſtabliſhing the phytology of our iſland on a baſis of greater accuracy and authority than any other country in the world can hitherto boaſt of."

Our Linnean Preſident is here more conſiſtent than liberal or philoſophical, otherwiſe we ſhould have had the names of Hull and other botaniſts, (perhaps not all followers of Linnæus, indeed,) who have contributed to augment our knowledge of the Engliſh Flora.

The view of the mineral kingdom is prefaced by ſome obſervations on the baſis of mineralogical ſyſtems, in which we have the following poſtulate: "It is not perhaps an inaccurate analogy to conſider chemiſtry as being, with reſpect to mineralogy, what anatomy is to zoology." Had Dr. M. ſaid what anatomy is to the practice of ſurgery, he would have approached nearer the truth. Gmelin certainly betrayed a great defect of judgment, in precipitately ſubſtituting the ſuperficial ſyſtem of Werner for that of Linnæus in his edition of the *Syſtema*. It was a venial ſpeculation, prior to the diſcovery of the ſimple earths, to ſuppoſe that common flint was formed from chalk; but it is not now worthy of notice, unleſs the editor means to bring the penetration of Linnæus into flint in competition with that of Newton, who diſcovered the diamond to be combuſtible. Indeed, while Linnæus adheres to the arranging of ſuperficial anologies, he is correct and intelligible, but when he wanders beyond this ſphere into

* "There is a generic and ſpecific deſcription of Britiſh plants, tranſlated from the *Gener.* and *Specі. Plant.* of Linnæus, by James Jenkinſon, Kendal, 1775, 8vo. plates."

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the regions of more recondite philoſophy, he is weak and erroneous: and even from this work it appears, notwithſtanding ſo much gaſconade in eulogies, ſtriking of medals, titles of nobility, &c. that his original diſcoveries might be all written in a much leſs compaſs than the leaf of a *Linnæa*. From Newton he borrowed his ideas of the law of nature, from Sauvages, his Noſology, from Artedi, his Ichthyology, from Ray (principally) Swammerdam, Reaumer, De Geer, and others his Ornithology and Entomology; and laſtly his grand fabric, the Sexual Syſtem from our countryman, "Sir Thomas Millington, Savillian profeſſor of geometry in the univerſity of Oxford, who appears to have been the firſt that gave the hint to Dr. Grew." The whole doctrine may be expreſſed in the following poſition; namely, "That the influence of the *farina* from the *anthera* of flowers upon the *ſtigma* is eſſentially neceſſary to give fertility to the ſeed." Linnæus, like moſt of our modern ſyſtem-makers, has had the addreſs to avail himſelf of others' labours in order to conſtruct a fabric deſtined to immortalize his own name by engulphing that of every other more original and profound philoſopher. This is one of the many inſtances of vanity and ambition obtaining a more diſtinguiſhed niche in the temple of fame than the more modeſt and recondite labours of ſuperior intellects.

The concluding part of the General View is occupied with accounts of all Linnæus's detached papers publiſhed in the Tranſactions of the Academy of Stockholm, and the *Amænitates Academicæ*, a collection of diſſertations, chiefly inaugural, in ten volumes, only ſeven of which were publiſhed by Linnæus. Of the analyſis here given we are modeſtly informed, that it is only "to be regarded as little more than an enlarged table of contents; and that it is impoſſible by means of any abridgment, to give an adequate idea of the merit of this miſcellany, or of its utility as exhibiting dilated explanations of our author's philoſophical and medical principles." We cannot perceive any "impoſſibility of giving an adequate idea" of this work in an epitome, neither is it ſo rare, nor of ſuch peculiar merit, as we are here taught to believe, and we doubt not but the labour of the author to naturalize theſe diſſertations will perfectly ſatisfy his readers with regard to any latent curioſity for ſeeing the entire work. Perhaps indeed few of thoſe will even have the reſolution to drudge through the incoherent maſs as we have done, to cull a very few ideas of moderate merit from a huge chaos of puerile, worthleſs ſpeculations. In juſtice, however, to Dr. M.'s modeſty, ſpeaking of his work as "an enlarged table of contents," we muſt ſay that he has given every thing that could be by any means intereſting to the Engliſh public in the *Amænitates Academicæ*. To this there is one ſerious exception, which we regret that the author has obliged us to make, the total omiſſion of the names and habitudes of 491 plants, in the *Pan Suecus*, that Dr. Pulteney tranſlated and arranged in order to give a tabular view of the different edible plants, that they might be cultivated according to the nature of the ſoil or the peculiar taſte of the animals which they were to feed. This was perhaps the ſole article of great practical ulility,

for the omiſſion of which the author apologizes, by alledging the neceſſity and his own inability of correcting it according to the preſent improved ſtate of cultivation. But on a ſubject ſo important to agriculture, why not lay his country friends under contribution for aſſiſtance? Inſtead of teaching the farmer how he might adapt his live ſtock to the nature of his ſoil, ſo that all thoſe vegetables commonly denominated weeds might be *uſeful*, the editor contents himſelf with obſerving, "it appears that the horned cattle ate of the plants which were offered to them only 276 ſpecies, and they rejected 218; the goats of 449 kinds refuſed 126; the ſheep of 387, refuſed 141; the horſes of 262, refuſed 212; and of thoſe which were offered to ſwine, 72 were eaten and 171 rejected." The long-leaved water-hemlock (cicuta veroſa) is fatal to cows, yet ſheep and horſes fed on it with impunity, and goats greedily devour it; a fact known to Lucretius;

——Videre licet pingueſcere ſæpe Cicuta
Barbigeras pecudes, homini quæ eſt acre venenum.

The editor's account of the *Sapor et Odores medicamentorum*, trifling conceits of Linnæus, aſcribing the qualities of medicines to their taſte and ſmell, is a proof of the great difference between a reaſonable and a reaſoning author; this detail would have been much better omitted than that of the *Plantæ Tinctoriæ*, which Dr. Pulteney analyzed with great clearneſs and practical utility; but it would appear that Dr. M. conceived it beneath him to publiſh any thing applicable to the arts, and that he wrote ſolely for philoſophers! His love, indeed, of uncommon things is repeatedly diſplayed, and not content with making Spaniſh chocolate of cocoa, ſugar, and cinnamon, he gratuitouſly adds vanilla and ambergris! The ſolanum dulcamara Dr. M. has found uſeful in cutaneous diſeaſes, particularly thoſe of the leprous character; from 2 to 4 drachms of the dried ſtalks boiled in a pint of water is a doſe, to be taken every morning and evening. We ſhould gladly notice any remedy for ſuch diſeaſes that would tend to preſerve the people from the mercileſs fangs of quacks, whoſe bills and deceptious mixtures for beautifying the ſkin and complexion, render great numbers extremely unhappy, and entail debility on the infant generation. For the analyſis of the three laſt volumes of the *Amænitates Academicæ*, by Dr. M. we can ſee no reaſon; they are neither rare nor poſſeſs any peculiar merit; and if we may believe the expreſs declaration of Linnæus himſelf, who, in his *curriculum vitæ*, diſclaims all knowledge or connection with any ſuch works, their collocation in the General View is very injudicious. We lament, indeed, their incorporation in this work, as foreigners muſt think, from their preſent form of publication, that Engliſhmen are now beginning to appreciate thoſe effuſions on natural hiſtory that have been only their juvenile amuſements. Inſignificant, however, as theſe *theſes* may be, their publication is much leſs to be regretted than that of the *curriculum vitæ*, or, as our claſſical editor ſtrangely tranſlates it, "Diary," although it is not even an annuary, and proceeds thus, 1707-14-17-19-22,

19-22, 1724, &c. We had almoſt determined to decline noticing this bombaſtic farrago, and would have ſimply diſmiſſed it with adviſing the editor to cut the pages, from 511 to 583, out of the volume, had it not been that ſome witling might avail himſelf of this childiſh compilation to caſt a ridicule, not only upon the memory of the immortal Swede, but upon every other naturaliſt whoſe works he could not comprehend. As friends, therefore, intereſted in the progreſs of natural hiſtory, it is not without conſiderable repugnance that we fulfil an ungrateful duty in the expoſition of the groſſeſt vanity, and muſt be pardoned for ſtill conſidering a great number of thoſe pages as the compoſition of ſome ſuperannuated old woman.

The Memoirs are prefaced by a chronological ſeries of the principal events in the life of this botaniſt, amounting in all to 28, which finiſh with the building of his own muſeum at Hammarby, in 1768. This ſketch of the important circumſtances in his *curriculum vitæ*, and a catalogue of his writings, without the motto, *Poteſt è caſa vir magnus exire*, would have been quite enough from the author's own pen. That, it ſeems, would not have pleaſed our editor, who commences not only at the natal hour of his hero, but with a pompous topographical account of the pariſh in which he was born.

"Stenbrohult is a pariſh of Smaland, ſituated on the confines of Skane, in a very pleaſant ſpot, adjoining to the great lake Moklen. It is ſurrounded on all ſides, except to the weſt, where it fronts the lake, by well-cultivated lands. At a little diſtance to the ſouth, the eye is relieved by a beech-wood; to the north, the lofty mount Taxas rears its head, and Moklen lies on the oppoſite bank of the lake. To the eaſt, the fields are encompaſſed with woods, which weſtward incloſe broad meadows, and large ſpreading trees. In ſhort, Flora ſeems to have laviſhed all her beauties on the ſpot that was to give birth to our botaniſt.

"Carl Linnæus was brought into the world, between the hours of twelve and one, in the night dividing the 12th and 13th (22d and 23d, N. S.) of May, 1707: a delightful ſeaſon of the year, in the Calendar of Flora, being the months of *frondescence* and *floreſcence!* His parents received their firſt-born with joy, and devoted the greateſt attention to impreſſing on his mind the love of virtue, both in precept and example. The ſame thing that is ſaid of a poet, *nascitur non fit*, may be ſaid without impropriety of our botaniſt. From the very time that he firſt neſt his cradle, he almoſt lived in his father's garden, which was planted with ſome of the rarer ſhrubs and flowers; and thus were kindled, before he was well out of his mother's arms, thoſe ſparks which ſhone ſo vividly all his lifetime, and latterly burſt into ſuch a flame!!!"

Theſe paſſages bring to our recollection the exquiſite *Florilegium* of Friar Gerundio de Campazas, and might well be an effuſion of that celebrated Spaniſh preacher. Had not Dr. M. given us a ſpecimen of his claſſical taſte, in praiſing his author's account of his pedeſtrian tour in Lapland, written in Latin, we could never have aſcribed ſuch rhodomontade to the pen of Linnæus. It is evidently the poſterior production of a child, that, delighted with piling up its little toys and

glaſs fragments, laughing falls with the fabric it has raiſed. We recommend this account of the naturaliſt's tour to the French editors of the Life of Don Quixotte, and we ſhould expect to ſhare their gratitude in return, did we not know that that emotion is unknown in their country: they may nevertheleſs render *grace* to Dr. M. for the following happy explanation; thus, on foot, "had he travelled 700 Swediſh, or between 4 and 5000 Engliſh miles this year!!!" Linnæus left Upſal on the 13th of May, and to travel 5000 miles "over the Lapland Alps on foot," botanizing, or "in queſt of plants and minerals;" to conſtruct rafts "in the middle of the night," paſs cataracts, combat the *Finmarkers*, like Bartram with the alligators in Eaſt and Weſt Florida, and "learn the art of aſſaying," all before the commencement of winter in theſe northern regions, are feats worthy of the renowned Baron Munchauſen, and the biographical pen of Vice-preſident Maton! If the reader ſhould doubt this, we have already mentioned the expence of the work, where he will find all theſe things, and many more, at pages 521-2; and alſo how Linnæus ſaw the ſun at midnight from the mountains at Vallivari, and ſomething of the good offices of a curate's *wife*! On his return, he gave the Academy of Sciences an account of his expedition, and received 112 ſilver dollars (10l. ſterling) "his travelling expences." Notwithſtanding all Linnæus's travelling, "he learned neither Engliſh, French, German, Laplandiſh, nor even Dutch (language), although he had ſtaid in Holland three whole years*. In 1738, Linnæus married his long-betrothed wife, Miſs Moræa, and commenced the practice of medicine the following year at Stockholm. Shortly after, he was elected profeſſor of botany, and "during his ſummer lectures, he took out with him about 200 pupils, who collected plants and inſects, made obſervations, ſhot birds, kept minutes, and after having botanized from ſeven o'clock in the morning until nine in the evening, every Wedneſday and Saturday, returned with flowers in their hats, and accompanied their leader with *drums* and *trumpets*, through the city [of Upſal] to the garden. Several foreigners, and people of diſtinction from Stockholm, uſed to attend Linnæus's excurſions; indeed, at this time, the ſcience had attained the higheſt degree of popularity!" Although our editor is ſufficiently animated even to admiration of the philoſophical powers of *drums* and *trumpets*, yet he cannot ſolve another of his embarraſſing queſtions, whether it was the king of Sweden, or of Spain, that wiſhed to ennoble his author. "In 1765, Linnæus worked at the 12th, or laſt, edition of the *Syſtema Naturæ*, and the whole of the autumn on the *Clavis Medicinæ*, which would have employed the *moſt learned man for an age!*" With this we ſhall take our leave of the botaniſt's "Diary," not wiſhing to dwell on

* Were it worthy of mentioning, we would remark that Thomas Paine, after living eleven years in Paris, could not intelligibly aſk in French for a draught of his favourite beverage, pure brandy.—REV.

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many more extraordinary expreſſions than what we have juſt cited, and only remark, that the true piety expreſſed by Linnæus in his *curriculum vitæ*, is a proof, that a knowledge of nature is eminently favourable to religion, even in men of the greateſt vanity.

The calculations in theſe Memoirs are ſhamefully negligent, 600 copper dollars are eſtimated to be 15l. and 9000, 250l.; 112 ſilver dollars at 10l., and 1000 at 80l.; we fear that our Editor will himſelf experience the effects of his neglect of arithmetical accuracy in the ſale of his work. Much in the ſame ſtile of eſtimation, we are told that "*Suſm* in his *Hiſtor. Liter.* ſays, of all thoſe who have gained the praiſe of the learned world, ſix only are mentioned *as immortal.* Galileo, Newton, Leibnitz, Boerhaave, Linné, and *Gram* (a very obſcure hiſtory-writer)!" This too has been erroneouſly aſcribed to Linnæus; but the judgment of ſuch authors is beneath criticiſm, and it is only extraordinary that any perſon could be found ſo credulous as to believe, or ſo weak as to tranſcribe the babblings of mere dotage. Peace to the manes of the "Prince of Botaniſts;" his fair fame will ſuffer but little from this feeble pencil; and his real portrait ſhall ſtill diſplay the hand of a maſter, notwithſtanding the blotches of a miſerable dauber. We may be told, indeed, that men like to diſcover weakneſſes in a great character; but all ſuch defects only ſerve for prompt apologies in the mouths of the truly vicious, who rejoice at knowing the imperfections of others that they may thereby ſanction their own. They cannot therefore be too ſcrupulouſly caſt behind the impenetrable veil of oblivion. This is one of the many reaſons for regretting and cenſuring the imprudent publication of theſe deſultory, egoiſtical ſelf-adulations that belie themſelves. Of the learned Doctor we muſt beg leave to aſk in what language he has publiſhed his additions and alterations in the preſent volume? Dr. Pulteney's work was originally in plain Engliſh, but as it now appears from the hands of our editor, it is neither Engliſh, Swediſh, nor Latin. Where is *Upſala*, *Dalarne*, &c.? With the famous academy of Upſal we have long been acquainted; and one of our beſt tragic poets has immortalized the name of Dalecarlia; but neither our knowledge, nor that of our Gazetteers extends to ſuch combinations of letters as *Upſala*, *Dalarne*, that are, ſtrictly ſpeaking, neither Swediſh, nor any other language whatever. Equally foreign to Engliſh are the names *Carl*, *Georg*, *Boerhaaven*, &c.; but we ſhall leave the ingenious and learned editor to receive the thanks of the printers for introducing a new character, a cypher over the vowels, as *Skåne* (Skania, or Scania), which is quite as intelligible to the Engliſh claſſical reader as the Chineſe characters on a tea-cheſt! We muſt alſo indicate ſome of the ſymptoms of Dr. M.'s diſeaſe, the *cacoethos corrigendi*, and leave the public to preſcribe the remedy. Dr. Pulteney ſays, (p. 215, 8vo) "The ardor of Linnæus's inclinations to the ſtudy of nature from his earlieſt years, and that uncommon application which he beſtowed upon it, gave him a moſt comprehenſive view, both of its pleaſures and uſefulneſs, at the ſame time that it opened to him a wide field, hitherto but little cultivated, eſpecially in

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his own country. Hence he was early led to regret, that the ſtudy of natural hiſtory, as a public inſtitution, had not made its way into the Univerſities." Dr. Maton (p. 496, 4to.) "The ardor of Linnæus's attachment to the ſtudy of nature from his earlieſt years, and his uncommon application to the *philoſophy* of that *purſuit*, gave him a moſt comprehenſive view both of its pleaſures and of its uſefulneſs, at the ſame time that it opened to him a wide field, before but little cultivated, eſpecially in his own conntry. Hence he was early led to regret, that natural hiſtory had not, by public inſtitution, been more cultivated in Univerſities." Perhaps Dr. M. thinks drums and trumpets proper "application to the *philoſophy* of a *purſuit*;" and that to mangle the very ſimple language of his author, retaining only the original ideas, is the philoſophy of an editor! Says Dr. P. "it has been objected to Linnæus, that he has introduced a number of terms not *authoriſed* by claſſical authority;" but Dr. M. "not *warranted* by claſſical authority." Theſe few examples will ſhow our elegant editor's zeal to improve the original work of his departed friend; and ſhould it not ſpeedily attain a ſecond edition, it muſt be from the ſame cauſe as that which he has ingeniouſly aſſigned for Dr. P.'s Sketches of Botanical Writers; viz. that the firſt edition is not all ſold.

On the general character of this expenſive publication it is painful to dwell. Knowing, as we do, the ſuperiority of our philoſophy from an impartial and comparative eſtimate of the ſcientific works of foreign countries, and having for ſome time witneſſed the deleterious effects, both moral and political, of the general diffuſion of ſuperficial works on philoſophy, it is our bounden duty to raiſe the voice of juſtice and truth againſt the propagation of ſuch flimſy and deceptious effuſions in our own country. This is the more neceſſary in the preſent caſe, as the work proceeds from a vice-preſident, whoſe literary honours ſhould be ſuppoſed the reward of his merit from one of the firſt Natural Hiſtory Societies in the world: a ſociety, the correſpondence of whoſe preſident, and of many of its members, we well know, is courted by ſome of the firſt naturaliſts and philoſophers now living. Example is powerful in proportion to the real or ſuppoſed authority; and two or three frivolous publications ſanctioned by ſome reſpectable names, might thus for a time compromiſe the literary honour of our country. Wealth begets indolence, and indolence produces ignorance and vice, evils that are infinitely more to be apprehended than all the impotent menaces of invaſion. Had the editor extracted only what might be uſeful, and ſupplied the deficiencies from modern diſcoveries; had he not ſo credulouſly adopted as genuine the Memoirs of Linnæus, though avowedly not in his own hand-writing: had he not been ſo diffuſe in expreſſions merely of a dotard, nor been ſo regardleſs of the purity of his native tongue, by introducing dog-latin and Swediſh phraſes, he might have produced an octavo volume for one third of the price, that would have done honour to Engliſh literature. In its preſent ſtate, every judicious friend of ſcience muſt deprecate this puerile, ſlaviſh, and unſcientific idolatry of a maſter; every lover of literature proteſt againſt

againſt this literary harlequin of *Succo-latino* Engliſh; and every real naturaliſt and moraliſt deplore the publication of ſuch a work!

We regret that experience has proved the use of wood-ſtrawberries neither a preventative nor a cure for the gout, as experienced by Linnæus in himſelf: It is acknowledged that they proved fatal in two caſes, that ſhould render their uſe as a remedy extremely cautious. From Dr. Maton we have been taught to expect a very important and intereſting work on teſtaceological writers, that are ſo imperfectly known even to naturaliſts. We would wiſh it ſpeedily to appear.

Memoirs of Samuel Foote, Eſq. with a Collection of his genuine Bon Mots, Anecdotes, Opinions, &c. moſtly Original, with three of his Dramatic Pieces, not publiſhed in his Works. By William Cooke. 3 Vols. 13s. 6d. Phillips.

THIS work may be ſaid to fill up a chaſm in Dramatic Biography. Why the life of our Engliſh Ariſtophanes was not publiſhed ſooner, is a natural inquiry, though, perhaps, the preſent period is not unſeaſonable. Foote was in his day ſo much the ſubject of univerſal converſation and curioſity, that his cotemporaries were well acquainted with his hiſtory, and therefore it will be moſt intereſting to a new race of readers. And as it is now publiſhed by a cotemporary, who has proved himſelf well qualified for the undertaking, and who probably has been collecting materials for his work up to the time of publication. The delay may be conſidered an advantage, eſpecially as the materials are not of a temporary or periſhable nature. The wit and humour of Foot will always be read with avidity and pleaſure.

The following account of the work is given by Mr Cooke ia his Introduction:

"Inſtead of making an apology for writing the life of Samuel Foote, an apology ſhould, perhaps be made for not having given to the public long ago, ſome account of this very extraordinary man; who, independently of many other talents, ſtands ſo ſingular as a modern dramatic writer, that even at this day we have little hopes of "looking upon his like again."

"This neglect can only be accounted for on conjectural principles. His ſatirical turn, no doubt, made him many enemies, and theſe had an intereſted reaſon on this ſubject; while others, though they might have a quick reliſh for his wit and converſation, may not have felt themſelves capable "to carry a bon-mot ſteadily." Some, too fully qualified for the office of a biographer, may be liable to indolence, often attendant upon genius; which propoſes and procraſtinates till, delay becoming habit, "the buſineſs of to-morrow" goes off "from day to day, to the laſt ſyllable of recorded time."

"It is now, near thirty years ſince the death of Foote; and yet, except a meagre collection of a few dates and facts publiſhed in the Biographia Dramatica (like what we ſometimes find in the miſcellanies of the French poets), and ſince, literally retailed in a number of theatrical catch-pennies, no written account of him is extant. Of his jeſts, bon-mots, &c. there have been many profeſſed publications; but thoſe who are in the leaſt acquainted with

with the character of Foote, muſt ſee at one view, that in theſe, his name has been merely adopted to deceive the crowd, who know not how to diſcriminate ſterling from adulterated metal.

" He was from ſeeing this literary object in ſo periſhable a ſtate, and from wiſhing to preſerve a name of ſuch celebrity from floating down the tide of oblivion, that the preſent editor has been induced to publiſh theſe Memoirs: but, it is now neceſſary for him to ſtate his own pretenſions.

" Very early in life he had the pleaſure of being introduced to this genuine ſon of comic humour; and finding in him all the charms of converſation which could attach a young man with a literary and lively turn of mind, he was careful in recollecting, and noting down as many of his anecdotes, converſations, bon-mots, &c. as convenience would permit; not with any intent, at that time, to publiſh them, but as the records of a man who drew on him the gaze of the faſhionable and literary world—as the reminiſcences of hours which afforded ſuch exquiſite delight.

" On the death of Foote, which happened about nine years after their firſt acquaintance, the editor had the pleaſure of continuing in acquaintance with many reſpectable perſons who were the intimates of his late friend's earlier days, and who had ſeen him in all the retractions of his varied life. From theſe he was curious to glean as much of his manners, habits, and converſation, as he could; and, from their readineſs to oblige, as well as their reſearches of an old and valuable friend (whoſe name, which he is not permitted to mention here, would be a paſſport for every thing curious or authentic, in literary or dramatic hiſtory), he has collected ſuch materials as embolden him to publiſh theſe volumes.

" He is at the ſame time ready to allow, that the work might have been more enlarged, had it been begun immediately after the death of Foote, by ſome of thoſe cotemporaries here alluded to; when the ardour of congenial talents, and the rapineſs of events, would have made greater and more forcible impreſſions: but under the actual circumſtance, he not only preſumes that his performance will be found the beſt that has yet appeared, but is rather ſanguine in thinking it the beſt that can now be affected.

" The firſt part conſiſts of Memoirs of Foote, in which every thing material relative to his life and dramatic purſuits, is accurately ſtated, from written documents, and the beſt traditional information.

" In the ſecond will be found a collection of his bon-mots, &c. Some of theſe have appeared in other collections; but ſuch as had the ſimilitude of being genuine have been admitted; the editor not thinking himſelf at liberty to refuſe them a place here, merely, becauſe they had been involuntarily dragged into bad company.

" Of the characters, anecdotes, opinions, &c. moſt were related by Foote himſelf, and many by the literary ſociety in which he lived. Some, being either referred to in the range of converſation, or growing out of a correſponding ſubject, the editor thought fit to ſubjoin, from a wiſh to the original matter a richneſs of appropriate colouring and diverſification.

" In ſhort, this part may be conſidered, not only as the ſchool of Foote, but of his time; where the hero is diſcovered amongſt his friends and cotemporaries " in his night gown and ſlippers;" where the wit, the whim, the humour, the taſte, and general character, of the man will be beſt ſeen; and where, perhaps will be found the beſt apology for many parts of his life; as " he who had ſuch jocular propenſities, with ſuch inexhauſtible

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ſources for pleaſing mankind, could have no ſerious views of ever becoming their enemy."

The firſt volume of this work, containing the Memoirs, is written with eaſe and preciſion, the narative is diverſified with anecdotes of other diſtinguiſhed characters, but as a piece of biography alone it is very intereſting. The Life of Foote was chequered with extraordinary viciſſitudes of good and bad fortune; and is not without inſtruction, as his misfortunes were moſtly the reſult of imprudence, or the effects of that reſentment which perſonal ſatire was calculated to excite. Mr. Cooke does not ſeem to palliate his faults or failings, he appears to relate facts with fidelity, and occaſionally to touch the lights and ſhades of character, with a ſkilful, as well as impartial hand.

The ſecond volume opens with a deſcription of Foot's perſon, habits, and peculiarities. An eſtimate is next given of his literary and dramatic talents, with a compariſon between him and Garrick. Here, as in other parts of the work, Mr. Cooke exhibits a critical knowledge of dramatic ſubjects, and an intimate acquaintance with the Hiſtory of the Stage.

The remainder of the ſecond volume, and a part of the third contains a copious collection of anecdotes, bon-mots, characters, opinions, &c. ſet down indiſcriminately under characteriſtic titles. This part, though highly entertaining, is liable to objection, not for any licentious wit or indelicacy, but as containing many things which have no relation whatever to the ſubject of theſe Memoirs; and which therefore give this portion of the work too much the appearance of a general Miſcellany of Wit. Foote's Life alone afforded a ſufficiently rich banquet, without having recourſe to extraneous matter. Indeed the author ſeems to have anticipated this objection, when he expreſſes a hope, "that in rambling over the flowers of literature, and the fates of literary men, no apology will, perhaps, be neceſſary for introducing annecdotes of other extraordinary characters which are not generally known."

The dramatic pieces which conclude this work, though rather ſlight productions, contain wit enough to ſhew them to be genuine. Foote's letter (here given) addreſſed to Dr. Madden, in conſequence of that gentleman's attack on the author of the "Minor," contains an uncommon diſplay of ancient dramatic learning, as well as a curious ſpecimen of fine irony, and keen ſatire. Indeed, the Life of Foote, as now publiſhed, contains more witty and entertaining matter than any ſimilar publication in our language. As to Mr. Cooke's numerous digreſſions and epiſodes, though, in our opinion, unneceſſary, they will have many admirers; and will be particularly reliſhed by collectors of wit, who may likewiſe learn from this work (if ſuch a talent is to be learnt by imitation) to relate annecdotes and bon-mots with conciſeneſs, taſte and effect.

MISCEL-

MISCELLANIES.

A Deſcription of Prince of Wales's Iſland, and the Streights of Malacca, with its real and probable Advantages and Sources to recommend it as a Marine Eſtabliſhment. By Sir Home Popham, Knight of the Sovereign Order of St. John of Jeruſalem, and Fellow of the Royal Society, Pr. 7s. 2s. 6d. Stockdale. 1805.

A VERY tempeſtuous ſouthweſt monſoon in the year 1791, when Sir Home Popham was bound from Bengal to Bombay, obliged him to bear up for the Streights of Malacça, and he anchored at Prince of Wales's Iſland. This place appeared to him to poſſeſs ſo many advantages as a harbour that he took pains in examining its interior productions, and its different capabilities. The reſult of his inquiries and perſonal obſervations he communicated to Mr. Light, who was at that period governor of the iſland. His public avocations, however, having ſince that time directed his attention to other countries, the ſubject in ſome meaſure lay dormant: but the impreſſion that it would become a matter of ſerious conſideration, has led him to enter, in the preſent tract, into a full diſcuſſion of its actual and probable reſources. Sir Home is decidedly of opinion that it poſſeſſes geographical, commercial, and political advantages, over every other ſituation in India; and that the combinations which he had introduced, would alſo increaſe its claim to the notice of government, and ultimately tend to its being made a permanent and reſpectable military and naval poſition. The Memoir, of which this is the ſpirit, as appears from the date, was laid before His Majeſty's miniſters, March 1799: though it was not publiſhed till the deſign of a military and marine eſtabliſhment at this place was made a ſubject of public diſcuſſion; which terminated in favour of the meaſure. The advantages of this iſland, which was called Pulo Penang, had alſo become apparent to Sir John Macpherſon, when Governor General of India; under whoſe adminiſtration it was transferred to the Engliſh by an amicable arrangement with the king of Quidah, its former ſovereign. Sir Home Popham in his deſcription and memorial relative to Prince of Wales's Iſland, ſets himſelf, and we think not unſucceſsfully, to prove that Bombay, however proper for a marine eſtabliſhment in one ſtate of Engliſh Commerce and Settlements in India, no longer continues to be the fitteſt place for our principal port; that the extenſive poſſeſſions acquired by the company on the Eaſtern coaſt and in adjacent countries, render an Eaſtern the moſt advantageous ſide for a marine eſtabliſhment; that the cauſes which rendered a former attempt to eſtabliſh a port on the Ganges ineffectual, are of permanent operation, and will prevent the ſucceſs of every experiment of the kind on any branch of that river; that Prince of Wales's Iſland from its harbour, its roads, its materials for ſhip-building, and its contiguity to the ſcene of naval operations, is the poſition the moſt completely adapted for a naval yard ſecurely fortified; that by the fertility of its ſoil, its productions, and its climate, it affords the means of ſubſiſtence, and the probability of health; that from its central ſituation and command of the Streights of Malacca, it will be a Mart for the interchange of the commodities of the Eaſtern and Weſtern India; and thus that it will encreaſe private riches and public revenue; that in the natural courſe of Britiſh

ſh induſtry, ſkill, and ability, it will monopolize the trade with China, and the opulent intermediate countries, to Malacca and Sumatra, and be an emporium for the commerce of the Eaſtern part of Southern Aſia, ſubordinate to London, which will become an emporium for the whole; that its military and political advantages are of the higheſt importance; that a force may be there ſtationed without the expence of ſending ſoldiers from Europe or the danger of our weakening our Indian armies. Major Macalliſter who had been at the head of the Europeans on Pulo Penang fourteen years, and who has ſince been appointed commander of the military force in the late eſtabliſhment here, gave in a memorial to the principal members of adminiſtration of the ſame purport. Every one who knows Prince of Wales's Iſland confirms their deſcriptions. And the proſperity of that favoured ſpot, rapidly encreaſing every day, verifies the whole. If a general hiſtorian were to give a laconic deſcription of the Britiſh empire at the preſent period, he might adopt the words of Tacitus, ſpeaking of the Roman empire in his day—Proſperæ in Oriente, adverſæ in Occidente res—Prince of Wales's Iſland is likely to prove a greater acquiſition to the wealth and power of Great Britain than that of the immenſe regions of Louiſiana to the North Americans.

An Account of Louiſiana, being an abſtract of documents delivered or tranſmitted to Mr. Jefferſon, Preſident of the United States of America, and by him laid before Congreſs, and publiſhed by their Orders. Pp. 43. 1s. 6d. Printed at Waſhington, and re-printed at Philadelphia, and all the other States of the Union: London re-printed for Hatchard. 1805.

THE preciſe boundaries of Louiſiana, weſtwardly of the Miſſiſſippi, though very extenſive, are at preſent involved in ſome obſcurity. Nor are there ſufficient data for aſſigning with preciſion its northern extent. According to its limits when formerly poſſeſſed by France it ſtretches to the Eaſt, as far at leaſt as the river Perdigo, which runs into the bay of Mexico eaſtward of the river Mobille. This country was diſcovered and peopled by the French, whoſe monarchs made ſeveral grants of its trade, in particular to Mr. Croſat in 1712, and ſometime afterwards, with his acquieſcence, to the well known company projected by Mr. Law. This company was relinquiſhed in the year 1731. By a Secret Convention on the 3d of November 1762, the French government ceded ſo much of the province as lies beyond the Miſſiſſippi as well as the iſle of Orleans to Spain; and by the treaty of peace which followed in 1763, the whole territory of France and Spain eaſtward of the middle of the Miſſiſſippi to the Ibberville, thence through the middle of that river and the lakes Maurepas and Pont Chorthein to the ſea was ceded to Great Britain. Spain having conquered the Floridas from Great Britain during the revolutionary war of America, they were confirmed to her by the treaty of peace of 1783. By the treaty of St. Ildefonſo, of the 1ſt October 1800, his Catholic majeſty promiſes and engages on his part to cede back to the French republic, ſix months after the full and entire execution of the conditions and ſtipulations therein contained relative to the duke of Parma, "the colony or province of Louiſiana, with the ſame extent that it actually has in the hands of Spain, that it had when France poſſeſſed it, and ſuch as it ought to be after the treaties ſubſequently entered into between Spain and other ſtates." This treaty was confirmed and enforced by that of Madrid, of the 21ſt March, 1801. From

France

France it paſſed to the Americans by the treaty of the 30th of April, 1804, with a reference to the above clauſe as deſcriptive of the limits ceded.—From this geographical and hiſtorical ſketch, by which we ſee the prerogatives of nature prevailing at laſt over human power and human conventions—Louiſiana paſſing from the hands of European governments, to the vaſt and ſtill ruling empire of America. From this hiſtorical ſketch the account paſſes to the diviſions and ſub-diviſions of the province, ſettlements, the inhabitants, and their origin, militias or military force, improvements and capabilities, laws, courts of juſtice, coſts of courts, and their officers, crimes, criminal juriſprudence and puniſhments, learning—if learning can be conſidered as having any place in a country where there is but one public ſchool where the Spaniſh language alone is taught, and where not more than half the inhabitants are able in any degree to read or write—the church, officers of government, taxes and duties, expences and debt, impoſts and exports, ſhipping and trade. All theſe heads are particularly intereſting to the Americans, who are conveniently ſituated for trade to that province, and among whom the migrating or reſtleſs and wandering propenſity is very ſtrong and active. Two ſettlements have already been made on the banks of the Miſſouri, where the country is exceedingly fertile, moſtly by emigrants, even from the inviting Kentucky. In proportion, however, as they are particularly intereſting to the Americans, they are unintereſting to other nations. Yet here and there we meet with ſtatements and deſcriptions that are calculated to draw general attention. Such for inſtance is the general deſcription of Upper Louiſiana.

"When compared with the Indiana territory, the face of the country in upper Louiſiana is rather more broken, though the ſoil is equally fertile. It is a fact not to be conteſted, that the weſt ſide of the river poſſeſſes ſome advantages not generally incident to thoſe regions. It is elevated and healthy, and well watered with a variety of large rapid ſtreams, calculated for mills, and other water works. From Cape Girandeau, above the mouth of the Ohio, to the Miſſouri, the land on the eaſt ſide of the Miſſiſſippi is low and flat, and occaſionally expoſed to inundations; that on the Louiſiana ſide, contiguous to the river, is generally much higher, and in many places very rocky on the ſhore. Some of the heights exhibit a ſcene truly picturesque. They riſe to the height of at leaſt 300 feet, faced with perpendicular *lime and free stone*, carved into various ſhapes and figures by the hand of nature, and afford the appearance of a multitude of antique towers. From the tops of theſe elevations, the land gradually ſlopes back from the river, without gravel or rock, and is covered with valuable timber. It may be ſaid with truth, that for fertility of ſoil, no part of the world exceeds the borders of the Miſſiſſippi; the land yields an abundance of all the neceſſaries of life, and almoſt ſpontaneouſly, very little labour being required in the cultivation of the earth. That part of upper Louiſiana which borders on North Mexico is one immenſe *prairie*, it produces nothing but graſs; it is filled with buffalo, deer, and other kinds of game: the land is repreſented as too rich for the growth of foreſt trees.

It is pretended that Upper Louiſiana contains in its bowels many ſilver and copper mines, and various ſpecimens of both are exhibited. Several trials have been made to aſcertain the fact, but the want of ſkill in the artiſts has hitherto left the ſubject undecided.

The ſalt works are alſo pretty numerous; ſome belong to individuals, others to the public. They already yield an abundant ſupply for the conſumption

ſumption of the country; and, if properly managed, might become an article of more general exportation. The uſual price per buſhel is 150 cents in *cash* at the works. This price will be ſtill lower as ſoon as the manufacture of the ſalt is aſſumed by government, or patronized by men who have large capitals to employ in the buſineſs. One extraordinary fact relative to ſalt muſt not be omitted. There exiſts about 1000 miles up the Miſſouri, and not far from that river, a *ſalt mountain!* the exiſtence of ſuch a mountain might well be queſtioned, were it not for the teſtimony of ſeveral reſpectable and enterprizing traders who have viſited it, and who have exhibited ſeveral buſhels of the ſalt to the curioſity of the people of St. Louis, where ſome of it ſtill remains. A ſpecimen of the ſame ſalt has been ſent to Marietta. This mountain is ſaid to be 180 miles long, and 45 in width, compoſed of ſolid rock ſalt, without any trees or ſhrubs on it. Salt ſprings are very numerous beneath the ſurface of the mountain, and they flow through the fiſſures and cavities of it. Caves of ſalt petre are found in Upper Louiſiana, though at ſome diſtance from the ſettlements. Four men on a trading voyage lately diſcovered one ſeveral hundred miles up the Miſſouri. They ſpent five or ſix weeks in the manufacture of this article, and returned to St. Louis with 400 weight of it. It proved to be good, and they ſold it for a high price.

"The geography of the Miſſiſſippi and Miſſouri, and their contiguity for a great length of way, are but little known. The traders aſſert, that 100 miles above their junction, a man may walk from one to the other in a day; and it is alſo aſſerted, that 700 miles ſtill higher up, the portage may be croſſed in four or five days. This portage is frequented by traders who carry on a conſiderable trade with ſome of the Miſſouri Indians."

Such facts are not only intereſting to merchants and adventurers, but ſome of them are conducive to the advancement of both geography and geology.

Outlines of English Grammar, calculated for the Use of both Sexes at School: in which the practical Rules of the Language are clearly and distinctly laid down, and the speculative Difficulties as much as possible avoided. By John Walker, Author of the Critical Pronouncing Dictionary, Elements of Elocution, &c. Pp. 113. Johnſon. 1805.

IF the queſtion were put, what is the moſt numerous claſs of authors? it would not, perhaps, be eaſy to decide whether it be that of writers of Novels or writers of Grammars. But if the queſtion were put, what is the moſt common and trite of all ſubjects of authorſhip, the anſwer is prompt. It is beyond all doubt that of Grammar. It was ſo, perhaps, in the decline of the Roman empire, when grammarians and rhetoricians took place of orators, ſtateſmen, and hiſtorians. Grammarians may be divided into two claſſes; the philoſophical, and the verbal. Of the former we have examples in Ammianus Marcellinus among the Romans, and Dr. Wallis, Mr. Harris, and Mr. Horne Tooke among the moderns: of the latter, in almoſt every ſchoolmaſter, and not a few of the aſſiſtants at ſchools; in which laſt number we underſtand we are to arrange Mr. John Walker. On a general view of this author's publications—their ſubjects, as well as the important and diffuſe manner in which he treats, if not trifles, yet matters of extremely little conſequence, one is in ſome doubt at firſt to determine, whether it be not his aim to burleſque literature, and turn book-making into ridicule—Critical Pronouncing Dictionaries, Keys to the Claſſical Pronunciation of

Greek, Latin, and Scripture proper Names, Terminational Vocabularies, where the words are properly claſſed according to their endings, Academic Speakers, Teacher's Aſſiſtant, ELEMENTS of ELOCUTION—why, to enter deeply into theſe labours with Mr. Walker, would occupy the beſt part of the age proper, and uſually, where circumſtances allow, devoted to education. As to the pronunciation of Greek and Latin words, according to rules drawn from uſage, what is the uſe of making a book on what is in uſage? But Mr. Walker ſays the *beſt* uſage. It is well known, and the Winchester, and other great ſchools in England, have now admitted, and Mr. Walker himſelf ſeems to admit, that the Engliſh pronunciation of Latin words, is very anomalous, and not conſonant, in general, at leaſt with that of the Greeks and Romans, or with that of every nation on the Continent, even Germany, the great ſource of the Engliſh tongue not excepted. Yet Mr. Walker teaches the Engliſh to pronounce Greek and Latin words by rules analogical to the pronunciation of Engliſh words; which pronunciation, to foreigners, to whom alone it is ever at all neceſſary to ſpeak in Latin, would be unintelligible. He would teach the Engliſh what there is no need of teaching at home, and which cannot be of any uſe abroad. This is even worſe than trifling.

We cannot neglect the preſent opportunity of making ſome obſervations on Mr. W.'s Teacher's Aſſiſtant, which are importunately demanded from a literary reviewer, who ought to detect and expoſe falſe pretenſion, as well as faulty execution. He ſays, in his preface or introduction, p. xiii. "In the courſe of this work, I have derived ſo little aſſiſtance from other writers, that I might perhaps paſs uncenſured for plagiariſm, if I were to be ſilent on this head: but candour obliges me to confeſs ſome obligations to Knox's Eſſays, to Jones's Letters from a Tutor to his Pupil, to Letters from Honoria to Marianne, to Bright's Praxis, and perhaps to a few others ſcarcely worth mentioning. But moſt of theſe I have been obliged to modify in ſuch a manner, as to make them ſuitable for an exerciſe; but by far the greater part, with all their faults, are my own."

Of Mr. Walker's originality, or manner of new-modifying Eſſays, we have ſpecimens in the three laſt in the collection, namely, 1ſt, On the delicacy of paſſion: 2d, That delicacy of taſte is not ſo dangerous as delicacy of paſſion; 3d, That delicacy of taſte enlarges our pleaſures, and improves our tempers. Now, in the firſt place, as theſe three eſſays are not the production of any of thoſe writers to whom Mr. Walker owns obligations, we may be led to ſuppoſe that they are, beyond all doubt, his own. But this belief or fancy is wholly diſſipated, when we caſt our eyes on Mr. Hume's Eſſay on the Delicacy of Taſte and Paſſion, from which they are wholly taken. Yea, but perhaps Mr. Walker has new-modified the compoſition of Mr. Hume. Yes: he has done ſo, by dividing it into three ſchool-eſſays; and the principal heads, as in the other eſſays, are marked, numerically, in their order by way of notes, at the foot of the page. In many others of the eſſays, we recognize, in like manner, the real maſters or owners. In ſhort, we very much doubt whether there be one of the thirty-three eſſays that can with propriety be called his own, or which he has not copied, with ſome omiſſions and ſlight variations from one, or culled from ſeveral diſcourſes or eſſays by other writers. The other parts of his Aſſiſtant conſiſt of what he calls THEMES and REGULAR SUBJECTS. He does not ſeem to underſtand the meaning of the word "theme," which ſignifies a poſition or ſubject, but confounds it with an eſſay on a theme. As for what he calls regular

ſubjects,

ſubjects, all ſubjects are regular, and equally regular too: that is, they have all their proper and regular, or orderly place or poſition in nature. They are all of them matters of fact, or matters of reaſoning. They all of them belong to ſome predicament, order, claſs, or claſſification, genus, ſpecies, or other. The irregularity ſuppoſed exiſts only in the mind of Mr. Walker.

Our Teacher's Aſſiſtant appears in the publication immediately under review, in the character of a maſter of ſchoolmaſters.

Before the time of Dr. Wallis—Dr. Gill, Benjamin Johnſon, and all other writers on the ſubject of Engliſh grammar, endeavoured to bend its analogies and genius to thoſe of the Latin tongue, giving many uſeleſs rules concerning the caſes, genders, and declinations of nouns, and the conjugations, moods, and tenſes of verbs, as well as the government of nouns and verbs. All this, Dr. Wallis obſerves, has no affinity or analogy to the Engliſh language. The whole of this buſineſs of ſyntax, or grammatical conſtruction, is performed by the help of prepoſitions or auxiliary verbs. The genius of our language being thus totally different from that of the Latin, Dr. Wallis aſks, "Why trouble our heads with a fictitious and uſeleſs aſſemblage of caſes, genders, moods, and tenſes? There is no foundation for thoſe diſtinctions in the Engliſh tongue." By the bye, this is the ſubſtance of all that is contained in the copious writings of Mr. Horne Tooke, againſt the doctrines of Mr. Harris, on the ſubject of Univerſal Grammar.

The obſervations of Dr. Wallis formed an æra in the hiſtory of Engliſh grammars; in ſo much that almoſt our grammars, as Mr. Walker juſtly obſerves, ſeem now to lean to an excluſion of Latin terms, and Latin forms of conſtruction, and that a new kind of grammatical language has been invented. This leaning, Mr. W. thinks unneceſſary: and in this light, to the extent to which it has been carried, it appears to us alſo. "Becauſe ſome of the old grammars were too fond of the Latin terms, and Latin forms of conſtruction, the moderns have attempted to exclude them altogether: and thus, by avoiding one fault, have fallen into another. There is no advantage to be gained by this change, even in the education of ladies; and for boys who are to have a Latin education, an Engliſh grammar in the Latin form is by far the moſt eligible."

That many excellent grammars have been lately produced, Mr. W. admits; but he conceived that there "was a middle claſs of pupils, beyond the age of childhood, and before that of maturity, to which theſe grammars were not perfectly accommodated. The abridgements of theſe grammars appeared to be too ſcanty, and the others (the grammars of which they were abridgements) too redundant; and ſuch a grammar Mr. W. has endeavoured to ſupply." If former abridgments were too ſcanty, why not make an abridgement not ſo ſcanty? But Mr. W. has ſupplied the defect, he ſays, "in a method ſomewhat different from his predeceſſors." As to this difference of method, it is not great in point of extent, and ſtill leſs in point of utility or importance. It is, in fact, no improvement at all.

Mr. Walker obſerves ſtill farther, "that any method, which is the produce of our own judgment, may with greater readineſs be conveyed to others than the method of another perſon (meaning, not that the method may be conveyed, but inſtruction in or by the method), though really preferable." If this be ſo, every ſchoolmaſter ſhould make a grammar for himſelf, as Mr. Walker has done. In ſhort, Mr. Walker is at a *non-plus* to

find any pretext whatever for writing a new grammar. He admits that we have "many excellent grammars:" but then there was none, before the preſent, by Mr. Walker. If thoſe "excellent grammars" are ſomewhat too copious, or, as he expreſſes himſelf, too redundant, then a ſkilful teacher will paſs over ſome parts, containing, perhaps, what is too nice and intricate, in the education of young pupils—a practice which, we underſtand, is very common. This endleſs fiddle-faddle about grammars, and ſtraining at the appearance of novelty and invention, deſerves to be expoſed, as utterly inconſiſtent with the dignity of literature. Yet Mr. Walker's grammar is not a bad one; nay, a tolerably good one; and he appears in a much more reſpectable light as a teacher, than as a Teacher's *Aſſiſtant*.

A Treatiſe on the Conſtruction and Copying all kinds of Geographical Maps. In four Parts, containing Plans of the Globular, Stereographic, and Mercator's Projections of the World; Projection of Maps of particular Parts; Deſcription of Inſtruments for drawing the Meridians and Parallels of Latitude with great Facility; and Directions for inſerting Places, drawing Rivers, Coaſts, Boundaries, &c. and for copying, colouring, mounting, and other Minutiæ of Mapping. Illuſtrated with Plates and Wood Cuts. By Thomas Dix. Pp. 36. 8vo. 3s. Scatcherd. 1805.

PROJECTORS and map-engravers, and finally the public, will be much obliged to the author for his attempt to facilitate the ſtudy of geography, and the conſtruction of maps in general. Was a knowledge of the principles and methods of deſigning maps and plans more generally diffuſed, not only our maps but our charts would be improved, and ſcience would give additional ſuccour to navigation and commerce. In this little treatiſe, it has been the object of Mr. Dix to diveſt the elementary principles of delineating maps of the mathematical character on which they are founded, and to give familiar examples, better adapted to the capacity of youth. This he has accompliſhed, but with more brevity than ſimplicity; and we could have wiſhed that he had been a little more minute and copious in detail. We have, indeed, two repreſentations (figures 1ſt and 4th) of the globular and ſtereographic projections of the ſphere on the plane of the equator, both with the ſame identical lines and figures; but we have no ſpecific difference marked, nor any reaſon given for the bold aſſertion, that "the globular is equal to the ſtereographic (the moſt uſual) in point of facility, and much ſuperior in point of correctneſs." To the point of facility we agree, but we have many reaſons to queſtion that of ſuppoſed ſuperior correctneſs, and it was incumbent on the author to have exemplified this opinion, inſtead of pronouncing ſuch hyperbolical eulogium on Mr. Arrowſmith. Mr. Dix ſeems to forget, in this caſe, that the earth is not a perfect globe. In the plate of Mercator's Projection, the author has inſerted the names of only a few capital cities, many of which are certainly not the moſt uſeful or important; for inſtance, why mention Madrid, an inland town, without commerce, and omit the capital of Portugal, Liſbon, with which we are in daily intercourſe? It cannot be too often repeated, that books deſigned for the inſtruction of youth loſe nothing of their eaſe and ſimplicity, by carrying with them ſomething of practical utility. The plates are very well engraven, and we expect with eagerneſs the promiſed "Atlas for Children," from the ſame hands, provided that it is not a mere outline,

alike

alike deſtitute of novelty and intereſt, but accompanied with the real "geographical features," namely, the direction and elevation of the principal mountains, the courſe of currents, height of tides, &c. on the coaſts: ſubjects of great importance to ſcience, and particularly favourable to ſentiments of piety and virtue in youth, that have been hitherto ſhamefully neglected by teachers of geography, and manufacturers of maps. With meagre outlines, the public is already ſated: let Mr. Dix, as in the preſent work, produce ſomething new, that will awaken reflection, and inſtruct youth, in a convenient manner and on reaſonable terms.

Rudiments of Reason; or, the Young Experimental Philoſopher: being a Series of familiar Dialogues, in which the Cauſes and Effects of the various Phænomena of Nature are rationally and familiarly explained. A new Edition carefully reviſed and enlarged. By the Rev. Thomas Smith. Pr. 405. 12mo. Harris. 1805.

EDITORS or bookſellers ſeem greatly deficient in their duty to the public, in not endeavouring to improve and correct every ſucceſſive edition of any work that meets with approbation. The preſent volume affords a ſtriking proof of this ungrateful neglect; and although we are given to underſtand, that this edition is carefully reviſed, we have only been able to find the form of the volume changed, but not its contents. Theſe are diſgraced by the admiſſion of ſome erroneous and obſolete phraſes, that could eaſily have been retrenched without prejudice. The ſubjects, as formerly, are divided into nine dialogues, on phyſics, motion, mechanical powers, hydroſtatics, pneumatics, fire, water, colours, and viſion, and are diſcuſſed with conſiderable elegance and perſpicuity. The conciſeneſs, variety, and comprehenſiveneſs of the ſubjects of Encyclopædian knowledge, would have conſtituted theſe rudiments of more than common merit, in what relates to phyſics, had the editor availed himſelf of the modern diſcoveries. It would, indeed, have been very difficult, if not impoſſible, to have elucidated ſo many ſubjects, with equal clearneſs, in the ſame compaſs, in any other form; and thoſe who feel diſguſted with the verbous colloquiſm of many dialogues, will be obliged to acknowledge the facility, eaſe, and graceful manner of theſe family diſcourſes in phyſical ſcience. The editor has, indeed, attempted to do rather too much, by endeavouring to aſſign a cauſe for every common appearance in nature, many of which depend on very remote influences. He is, too, more plauſible than correct; and his total ignorance of chemiſtry is a glaring defect throughout the work. A proof of this deficiency of neceſſary knowledge is given at page 37, where he ſuppoſes that the ſolution of litharge on paper, expoſed to the air, becomes black, in conſequence of vapours ariſing from a ſolution of orpiment in a cloſely-ſtopped bottle, inſtead of aſcribing it to the action of the atmoſphere. At page 184 is a table of weights, wholly unintelligible. It is certainly a moſt reprehenſible inſult to the guardians and teachers of youth in the preſent age, to give two dialogues on the phænomena of *fire* and *water*, by a writer who appears not to have known that there are ſuch ſciences as *electricity* and *pneumatic chemistry!* To the end of the volume is prefixed a vocabulary of technical terms, that might have accompanied ſome work of alchemiſtry in the 15th century. Who would now ſpeak of fermentation occaſioned by acids and alkalis; of "nitre drawn from ſalt-petre?" or conſider ſulphur and oil, reaction and reſiſtance, &c. as ſynonyms? Upon the

whole, the work is totally unfit for youth; and the title-page evinces the progreſs of the modern art of puffing, or literary quackery, in aſſuming to treat of experimental philoſophy, when the contents only embrace a ſmall part of what is uſually denominated phyſics.

Thoughts on Public Trusts. 12mo. Pp. 203. Conſtable and Co. Edinburgh. Longman and Co. London.

TO trace the various cauſes which conſpire to raiſe a nation to freedom and to glory, or thoſe which contribute to the erection and ſubverſion of a government, requires a genius of the firſt order, tempered by the niceſt rules of moral prudence, correct obſervation on the paſſions and habits of man, and enriched by an amplitude of learning, which have fallen to the lot but of few men. But notwithſtanding theſe high and awful conſiderations, the vanity of ſome few idle men, or the deſigns of thoſe who are actuated by a baſer motive, have ſtimulated them, both in ancient and modern times, to undertake the difficult taſk which we have juſt deſcribed. That the author whoſe work is now before us has neither genius nor learning, his book bears indiſputable teſtimony; but that he has neither vanity, nor any bad deſign in the publication of it, is not quite ſo clear. It profeſſes, in the firſt place, to take a curſory review of the Roman conſtitution, from the earlieſt periods; of the nature and tendency of the powers entruſted to the public functionaries of that government; and of the cauſes which united to ſubvert it: and all this attempt of learning and ſagacity, with no other apparent view than to bring into diſcredit the order of patricians in the Roman republic; and to elevate *his* ſovereign people, the mob, to that order in political ſociety, which God, and the peace of the world, ſubſervient to his will, have denied. We are next preſented with remarks in the ſame ſtrain, and with the ſame object, upon "the nature and tendency of the powers intruſted by the National Aſſembly to the public agents in France," and upon "the conſtitution of the American States, &c." And, laſtly, this truly *original author* has been pleaſed to give us "a ſketch of a conſtitution, for an extenſive populous country, upon the Roman principle." We recollect to have read, ſome few years ſince, with much pleaſure, the Oceana of Harrington, not becauſe we conſidered his theory as worthy of imitation, but as being enriched with conſiderable fancy and learning. During the time in which Harrington wrote, the monarchy was ſubverted; and the *ſaints* were crying aloud to heaven for a perfect commonwealth. No wonder, therefore, that he attempted to meet their wiſhes.

In the ſcheme which our author propoſes, both the electors and the elected muſt have arrived at the age of forty years; the election to be determined by ballot, and property to form no qualification, either in thoſe who are to conſtitute the ſenate, or the *rabble* by whom they are to be choſen! And, as might be expected, this piece of ſtate machinery is not to be directed by a monarch, but by an annual magiſtrate, or conſul. It may be curious to ſee this ſimple contrivance at work.

"The national ſenate to meet on a certain day annually, and to have ſupreme controul over all the current national buſineſs, over the military force, over the conſul and all national officers; and, when it judges proper, may propoſe a law or a tax, or to engage in a war; and if no objections are made within a certain time, the laws are enacted, and the war declared in the name of the people; ſilence being taken for their conſent. But if

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an actual majority of the ward-voters, or of the wardens and jurymen, give inſtructions to their reſpective ſenators to vote againſt any meaſure, they muſt vote accordingly; and if a majority of ſenators are inſtructed to vote againſt a meaſure, it muſt be given up."

From this ſpecimen, the whole work may be eſtimated: and were it written with the leaſt ſhadow of ability, we ſhould certainly expoſe its dangerous principles, in terms of marked ſeverity; becauſe it might then have a circulation, and do ſome miſchief.

The people of this country, thank Almighty God! enjoy a form of government, differing eſſentially from that which our author virtually recommends them to ſubſtitute in its place. It is a ſyſtem of polity which has grown out of the experience of ages, and has been perfected by the ſober ſuggeſtions of prudent and wiſe men. And, woe! to thoſe daring fools, who, under the ſpecious guiſe of exacting the applauſe of mankind for their ingenuity, diſſeminate their own crude and miſchievous ſyſtems, with no other view than to entice the ignorant and unwary, firſt to admire, and then to imitate.

Commercial Arithmetic, with an Appendix on Algebraical Equations, being an Introduction to the Elements of Commerce. By Chriſtopher Duboſt, Author of the Merchant's Aſſiſtant. Pr. 228. 6s. Booſy.

THIS is rather a light production, containing little new, except the names of rules, which are here changed, though we cannot ſee for what purpoſe, except it be to give an air of novelty to the work. Why conjoined Proportion is called "*the Rule of Equation,*" or the Rule of Three, "*the Rule of Fraction,*" we are left to gueſs. As to the contracted modes of long diviſion, &c. they were known in England long before the days of Cocker; but they have been generally rejected, as tending "to make more haſte than good ſpeed." The algebra, here introduced in the index, is mere ſmattering. Indeed this ſcience muſt be fundamentally ſtudied by commercial men, before they can, with advantage, or even with ſafety, apply it to mercantile computations.

DIVINITY.

The Progress of Error concerning the Person of Christ, represented in a Sermon, delivered at the Unitarian Chapel, in Essex-street, March 31, 1805. By Thomas Belſham. 8vo. Pr. 36. Johnſon. 1805.

MR. Belſham has the *modesty*, in this calm, phlegmatic declamation, miſcalled a *ſermon*, to ſtigmatize as *idolaters* not only every member of the Eſtabliſhed Church of theſe realms, but every Chriſtian, properly ſo called; that is, every one who believes in the divinity of Jeſus Chriſt; and whoever does not is, unqueſtionably, no Chriſtian. To allow ſuch blaſphemy to paſs with impunity, in a country, the laws of which expreſsly forbid it, is *toleration* with a vengeance! This man is nothing more than a miſerable echo of Dr. Prieſtley, poſſeſſing all his malignity, but a very ſcanty portion of his learning. In the diſcourſe before us, he repeats the miſerable jargon of his maſter, with many of his bold aſſertions, utterly unſupported by proof, and many of his flagrant falſehoods, the former of which have been confuted, and the latter expoſed, again and again. It inculcates no one Chriſtian precept, enforces no one religious duty, nor contains a ſingle

admonition that can either improve the underſtanding, or meliorate the heart. Hiſtorical facts are miſrepreſented, and the Scriptures moſt groſsly perverted. Such wretched ſtuff may poſſibly paſs current with moſt of the ignorant followers of Mr. Lindſey, whoſe knowledge extends not beyond the leaves of their ledger, or cath-book; but how it is received *by the Chancellor of one of our Univerſities*, who is a frequenter of the Chapel in Eſſex-ſtreet, it is not more eaſy to conceive, than it is that a *profeſſed Unitarian* ſhould be ſuffered to hold ſuch an office. We think we can anſwer for the *other* Univerſity, that a Chancellor, who ſhould thus publicly renounce his divine Redeemer, would not be ſuffered to retain it many hours after the fact was known.

We agree with Mr. Belſham, in one of his poſitions, that—"Error which is the reſult of indolence and criminal prejudice, admits of no excuſe;" and, on his own principle, we may conclude *him* to be inexcuſable. If it be poſſible that a ſet of men, whoſe vanity has impiouſly reduced their God to a level with themſelves, ſhould admit their own fallibility; and Mr. B. allow that he *may be* in an error, has he reflected ſeriouſly on the *conſequence* of ſuch an error as his? Has he looked forward to his death-bed, and to a *future* day, and conſidered what then may become of him, without the aid of thoſe merits, of that mediation, propitiation, and atonement, which the divine nature of a Redeemer could alone impart*. We would ſeriouſly adviſe both the preacher and his followers to ſubject themſelves to this teſt. A follower of Prieſtley, a man of ſtrong ſenſe, and rich in worldly knowledge, recently died in the vicinity of the metropolis; and on his death-bed began to reflect on futurity; he then found, for the firſt time, that *Unitarianiſm* afforded him no preſent comfort, and no ſolid ground of hope. He became reſtleſs, uneaſy, and alarmed. He trembled for the ſalvation of his ſoul. In this ſtate of mind he ſent for the clergyman of the pariſh, a moſt able and reſpectable divine, to whom he communicated his fears, and applied for inſtruction. Fortunately God ſpared his life long enough to enable him, by ſearching the Scriptures, to feel, to renounce, and to repent of, his error. He ſhuddered at the precipice on the brink of which he had ſtood, he acknowledged the mercies of his God, and died, a penitent believer, building his hope of ſalvation on the merits of his crucified Saviour. To Mr. Belſham, and to every one of his miſguided followers, we ſay, "Go thou, and do likewiſe."

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* "This one mediator between God and man, the man Chriſt Jeſus, who gave himſelf a ranſom for all," 1 Tim. ii. 5, according to the faith delivered to the ſaint, and retained in *our* Church, was therefore, obſerves one of our moſt able and moſt learned divines, "very God as well as very man." Art. ii.—"The WORD was made fleſh."—The divine and human nature having been neceſſarily united in the perſon of Chriſt, for the purpoſe of his being competent to the completion of the great work of Redemption, by becoming a proper and adequate atonement for the ſins of mankind." Farther, is Mr. Belſham aware (and if he be not, he muſt be groſsly deficient, indeed, in ſcriptural knowledge) that, by denying the divinity of Chriſt, he is infinitely more criminal than the Jew, who limits the word of God to the Old Teſtament. For, the unbeliever, under the Chriſtian diſpenſation, who muſt allow that the New Teſtament alſo contains a divine Revelation, "makes God a liar, by denying the record which God has therein given of his ſon: which record, in the plain language of the Baptiſt, runs thus; that "*Jeſus was the lamb of God*, which taketh away the ſins of the world." John i. 29.

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While we are on this ſubject, we cannot let ſlip the opportunity to remind this numerous claſs of unbelievers, who ſtrangely miſcall themſelves *Chriſtians*, of the infinite danger of chalking out a plan of ſalvation for themſelves, at variance with, and in contradiction to, the plan preſcribed for them by their Creator. They muſt bear to be told, deeply as their vanity will be wounded by the communication, that God having deigned to enter into a covenant with his fallen creatures, the object of which is to enable them, by the obſervance of certain conditions therein ſpecified, to obtain ſalvation, they who reject the conditions muſt be excluded from the benefit, of that covenant; therefore, though it be not for man to fix bounds to the mercy of his Creator, yet any man may ſafely affirm, under the authority of Scripture, that ſuch perſons cannot obtain ſalvation under the Chriſtian covenant. We know that theſe infidels flatter themſelves that God is ſo *good*, as they are pleaſed to term it, that they may offend him with impunity, by impeaching the truth of his word, and by denying the divinity of their Redeemer; but let them remember that God is *juſt* as well as *merciful*, and that he will unqueſtionably make a difference between thoſe who obey and thoſe who diſobey him. Is it wiſe, then, under ſuch circumſtances, to quit a *certainty* for an *uncertainty*, when the former enſures ſalvation, and the latter, unqueſtionably, is attended with the *riſk*, at leaſt, of damnation? There are many of this deſcription, particularly among the *trading* part of the community, who, with inconceivable ſtupidity, making the extent of their own moſt limited, narrow, and ſuperficial powers of comprehenſion, the ſtandard of their belief in religious matters, and utterly ignorant of the nature, or even meaning of *Faith*, flippantly and blaſphemouſly revile and ridicule the third perſon of the Trinity; not remembering that there is ſcriptural authority for aſſerting, that ſuch blaſphemy is conſidered by God as a ſin ſo heinous, *as to exclude all hope of forgiveneſs!* Yet have theſe men the vanity and the preſumption to think, at leaſt *to ſay*, that if they lead honeſt lives, that is, if they do not ſteal, cheat, lie, or break the laws of man, they are ſure to be ſaved! "It is ſuppoſed by ſome" ſays the reſpectable divine already quoted, "that provided men live honeſt and ſober lives, they may be allowed to think and act freely, as to thoſe points, which concern the manner in which they worſhip God, or the notions they may form about him. But Scripture ſets before us another view of things, by teaching us to believe what has been revealed, relative to the Divine Nature, attributes and perſonality; and to ſhew our dependence on the means and method of ſalvation, by acknowledging Jeſus Chriſt in the character in which he appeared in the world, and paying him ſuch ſervices as he has preſcribed, conſtitutes the eſſence of all true religion, and the only ſure foundation for all moral duty.

To purſue our quotations from a work ſo well calculated to conſole the meek and humble Chriſtian, and to confound the vain and confident Unitarian; from the old Teſtament, it was obſerved, ſpeaking of the children of men, "none of them can by any means redeem his brother, or give to God a *ranſom* for him," Pſalm xlix 7. Whilſt the language of the new Teſtament was brought forward to inform us, as the authority of Chriſt himſelf, that "the ſon of man came to give his life a *ranſom for many*." The argument drawn from theſe premiſes, and conſidered to be deciſive, was briefly this. If no man, according to the language of the old Teſtament, can redeem his brother; and if, according to the language of the *new*, "the ſon of man came to give his life a ranſom for many." Matthew, xx, 28. It neceſſarily follows *that this ſon of*

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man muſt be ſomething *more than man*; otherwiſe he was incompetent to the work he came to perform. At the ſame time we are expreſsly told, by an inſpired apoſtle, that Jeſus "verily took not on him the nature of angels." Heb. ii. 16. If Jeſus Chriſt then was ſomething more than *man*, and yet not *an angel*; in what character, it may be aſked, did he appear in the world? The Scriptures have fully anſwered this important queſtion, by informing us, that "the ſeed of the woman" promiſed in Paradiſe "to bruiſe the ſerpent's head," was, in the plain unequivocal language of the Goſpel, "GOD MANIFEST IN THE FLESH, that he might deſtroy the works of the devil." 1 Tim. iii. 16.—1 John iii. 8. That for this purpoſe, "*all the fulneſs of the godhead dwelt in him bodily*;" Col. ii. 9.—that "with *his own blood* he might purchaſe the Church of God;" Acts xx. 28.—"Having *by his own blood* obtained eternal redemption for us." Heb. ix. 12. Thus, in alluſion to the redemption from Egypt, Jeſus Chriſt is called by the apoſtle, "*Our Paſſover*;" whilſt the blood ſhed by him for that purpoſe, on account of the myſterious connection ſubſiſting in his Divine Perſon, is called the *blood of God*."—*Daubeny's Eight Diſcourſes on the connection between the Old and New Teſtament*. P. 473. et ſeq.

A multiplicity of other paſſages from Scripture might be quoted for the ſame purpoſe, but if Mr. Belſham, and his followers, will not be convinced by thoſe already quoted, they would not be convinced, *though one roſe from the dead*. In vain will they have recourſe to that uſual ſubterfuge of impiety, the rejection of every paſſage, as ſpurious, which thwarts their prejudices, or convicts them of blaſphemy: In vain will they plead their inability to comprehend, as a juſtification for their infidelity; for no propoſition carries with it "more irreſiſtible evidence than this, that what God has affirmed, however incomprehenſible to the human mind in its preſent ſtate, muſt infallibly be true!

We have beſtowed much more time and attention on this ſtupid and worthleſs Diſcourſe, than it would be intitled to, from any thing which it contains: But, knowing as we do, that theſe blaſphemous tenets are too widely diffuſed, and that this production has been put, by Unitarians, into the hands of young Chriſtians, properly ſo called, with a view to ſap their principles, and to ſhake their faith, we have felt it to be our duty to ſupply an antidote to the miſchief, and to direct thoſe, who may ſtand in need of it, to a pure ſource of ſound inſtruction on the moſt important of all ſubjects. One more paſſage, from the concluſion of Mr. Daubeny's moſt excellent diſcourſes, we ſhall extract, for the benefit of Mr. Belſham, and his congregation in Eſſex-ſtreet.

"By comparing ſpiritual things with ſpiritual, with the view of making Scripture ſpeak for itſelf (on the ſuppoſition that we have made a faithful report of the evidence contained in it), we have brought the deciſion on the ſubject before us to a ſhort iſſue; by reducing Infidels of every deſcription to the alternative, either of denying the divinity of the ſtandard appealed to, or of admitting the concluſion which has here been determined by it. In this caſe it will not be found ſufficient to ſet aſide certain obnoxious texts, chapters, or even whole goſpels; the doctrine of atonement being ſo intimately blended with the general tenour of divine Revelation, that they who object to it, muſt go one ſtep further; and, by a ſweeping clauſe, diſcard at once the whole evidence of Scripture. For, as the great ſcheme of Redemption was laid in the divine councils before the world began; ſo ſince the fall, if the Bible be a conſiſtent book, there has been but one Covenant,

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the everlaſting Goſpel of Peace; but one Mediator, whoſe prieſthood is unchangeable; one faith, by which man can be ſaved; one hope of eternal life through Jeſus Chriſt; "who of God is made unto us wiſdom, and righteouſneſs, and ſanctification, and redemption;—"to whom be glory for ever."

Speaking of his appointment as a miniſter of the Eſſex-ſtreet Chapel, this vain and ſilly mortal ſays, "It is a diſtinction, in my eſtimation, greatly to be preferred to an epiſcopal mitre, or, an archiepiſcopal throne." In *our* eſtimation, it is a ſituation ſo diſgraceful, that the meaneſt of all honeſt occupations is infinitely ſuperior to it. This ſect of Unitarians, unhappily, is much increaſing; and ſo little do they profeſs the doctrines of Chriſt, that very few of them even condeſcend to make their children members of his Church, by baptiſing them. Surely the *liberal ſpirit* of the age is not prepared to look on this growth of infidelity with indifference!

MISCELLANEOUS.

Obſervations on the pretenſions of the Iriſh, to early civilization and literature, in ſtrictures on the Hiſtorical Review of Mr. Francis Plowden, on the proſpectus of the Rev. Charles O'Conor, contained in the Annual Regiſter of 1803, *and on the Hiſtorians quoted by them.*

AS the judicious writer of theſe ſtrictures on Mr. Plowden's Hiſtorical Review has but ſlightly glanced at his attempt to impoſe on the literary public, by giving a minute and pompous diſplay of the early refinement, the learning, the ſplendor and magnificence of the Iriſh, having treated it with merited contempt, we ſhall poſtpone for the preſent our review of this very excellent work, in order to convince the reader, that Mr. Plowden's relations thereof are founded in nothing but the inventions of monkiſh fabuliſts, and on bardic fictions; and we hope to be able to prove this, not only from their goſs inconſiſtency, but from the concurrent teſtimony of authentic hiſtorians. He repeatedly tells us, in his Hiſtorical Review of Ireland, that his ſole object is to reconcile the Iriſh people to an incorporate union, and to produce a cordial attachment to, and a coalition between, them and their Britiſh fellow ſubjects; and yet he frequently tells them, that a declenſion from their ancient viſionary greatneſs has been occaſioned by nothing but their connection with Great Britain, and that it has been the ſole cauſe of their ſubſequent miſeries. In page 20, he ſays, "*this ſtate of pre-eminence*, which Ireland ſo long enjoyed, amidſt the nations of Europe, ſhews to what a degree of conſequence ſhe is capable of riſing, when her native energies and powers are not cramped by internal diviſions, *or damped by foreign oppreſſion*, or rigour."* In page 205, he tells them, "that it has been the fate of their country, to *experience more harſhneſs from the Engliſh Government, than any other part of the Empire*;" and in page 268, and in other parts of his work, he complains of the influence of "Engliſh intereſt" in the Government of Ireland. We think it, therefore, a matter of duty, to refute ſuch falſe and dangerous aſſertions; and in our endeavours

† This can allude to nothing, but her connection with England.

to

to accompliſh it, we ſhall make ſuch obſervations on the early ſtate of Great Britain and Ireland, particularly as to their religion, morals and literature, as we hope will be not only pleaſing but edifying to our readers. We are led by the following additional motive to undertake this taſk. The Rev. Doctor O'Conor, a popiſh prieſt, and who, we are informed, is domeſtic chaplain to the Marchioneſs of Buckingham, has given in the Annual Regiſter, of 1803, the proſpectus of a work, on the early annaliſts of Ireland, which, from its contents, we have reaſon to believe, is calculated to eſtabliſh the credit of the fables and fictions related by them. In the courſe of our inveſtigation, we ſhall make ſome remarks on the characters of the hiſtorians mentioned by Mr. Plowden, and Doctor O'Conor, the periods in which they lived, and what degree of credit has been imputed to them by ſome of the moſt judicious critics of the three laſt centuries.

WE ſhall now proceed to examine on what hiſtorical grounds Mr. Plowden reſts the authenticity of the following aſſertions, which he makes in the 6th page of his Hiſtorical Review. "No nation now, in fact, on the face of the globe, can boaſt of ſuch certain and remote antiquity, as the Iriſh; none can trace inſtances of ſuch early civilization; none poſſeſſes ſuch irrefragable proofs of their origin, lineage and duration of Government." That Keating, O'Flaherty, Lynch, and O'Conor, boaſt of Iriſh antiquity, and that, to the overthrow of hiſtory and ſober reaſon, is proverbially known; but what are their grounds of certainty? The dreams and fabulous narrations of their bards and ſcanachies. Hear what O'Flaherty himſelf, one of the principle recorders of theſe fables, acknowledges. "In the ſelection of Iriſh books, the greateſt caution, and the moſt judicious diſcrimination is to be obſerved; for ſome of them are abſolutely apocryphal; others being fabulous are calculated merely to amuſe. Of ſome, the copies differ from each other, having been vitiated by the ignorance of the amanuenſes: others have been amplified, through flattery and ambition, with hyperbolical comments.* Does this candid confeſſion ſupply any ground for the certainty of Iriſh hiſtory, a confeſſion made by the beſt native writer, and confirmed by him in a later work, his Ogygia vindicated, wherein he ſays, "the Iriſh when they embraced Chriſtianity, and became converſant with ſacred writ, thought it glorious to their country to be derived, by a mother from the Egyptian Pharoes, and to have had familiar converſation with Moſes and the Iſraelites."

Mr. Wm. Molyneux,† a native of Ireland, an eminent ſtateſman and philoſopher of the 17th century, was intimately acquainted with Mr. O'Flaherty, which appears by the following extracts from his life, compoſed by himſelf, and lately printed by Richard Mercier, bookſeller, in Dublin, at the inſtance of his relation, the preſent Sir Capel Molyneux, who has the original, an autograph, in his poſſeſſion. After ſpeaking of Peter Walſh, the Iriſh Franciſcan, noted for his Iriſh remonſtrance, he ſays, "the other was Mr. Roger O'Flaherty, author of the Ogygia, ſeu rerum Hibernicarum chronologia, a man the moſt learned of any of the native

* De codicum Hibernicorum delectu, tum maxima eſt habenda cura, et acre judicium, nam aliqui plane apocryphi, aut fabuloſi ad oblutumentum confuti; alii, exemplariorum varietate et ignorantia amanuenſium vitiati; alii, adulatione et ambitione, hyerbolicis commentis aucti, O'Flaherty, Ogygia, p. 34, 35.

† He was the intimate friend of Sir Iſaac Newton, and Mr. Locke, and was author of a well known political tract, entitled the Caſe of Ireland.

Iriſh,

Iriſh, that ever undertook the Iriſh antiquities; but he wants not a ſufficient ſtock of credulity, ſuch as ſuits not with a ſolid hiſtorian."

"Between theſe two, more eſpecially the latter, and me, there paſſed many letters in the ſummer of 1683, relating to the Iriſh hiſtory, concerning the antiquity thereof, and its motives of credibility, and concerning their antient literature, government, &c wherein, I muſt confeſs, he could never perſuade me otherwiſe, but that they were, antiently, a rude, barbarous, illiterate nation; having nothing of their hiſtory, and very little of the chronology of their kings, or genealogy of families, more antient than St. Patrick. A. D. 432."

"Notwithſtanding this, I thought it might not be unworthy of my pains, to help forward the publication of his Ogygia, which I did at his requeſt, for he conſtantly ſent me from his dwelling-houſe, nigh Galway, his ſheets, as he tranſcribed them fair, and I tranſmitted them to the bookſeller, who printed his work. Sir Richard Cox, in the preface of the firſt part of his hiſtory, calls Mr. O'Flaherty's Ogygia, an Utopian achievement. Hear what Doctor Talbot, in 1672 ſays, of the great authorities of Iriſh hiſtory, viz. the annals* of the four maſters, and Keating. "As to our vernacular writers, of whom Colgan denominates ſome, the four maſters, they are by no means entitled to credit, for they were *illiterate, and ſo devoted to party*, that but little truth is to be found in their performances; nor can Keating, who followed them, be relied on, for he expreſsly treats of the genealogies of the Iriſh, deducing them, in diſtinct generations, from Adam. What valuable information can be derived from ſuch writers, I profeſs myſelf ignorant." Talbot was a liberal, enlightened Roman Catholic, Archbiſhop of Dublin, and brother of the Duke of Tyrconnel.

Doctor O'Brien, titular biſhop of Cloyne, in the 17th century, reſpectable for his learning, aſſures us, that Keating never intended his hiſtory for the public, and that it was written only for the amuſement of private families;† preface to his Iriſh Dictionary, p. 40; and in page 44, he overthrows and ridicules the idea of the Iriſh being deſcended from Seythians, Mileſians, Magogians, &c.

In page 6, Mr. Plowden ſays, "the poſſeſſion of a vernacular language at this day, which was in general uſe above 3000 years ago, is a defiance to hiſtorical fiction and falſity, that Ireland can alone, proudly boaſt of."

Here Mr. P. bids defiance to common ſenſe. Are not the Tartarian, Peruvian, Tibetan, Abyſſinian languages, and that of every barbarous people, vernacular? Does Mr. P. underſtand the meaning of the word vernacular? Did he ever trace the hiſtory of the Iriſh tongue? It is ſuppoſed originally to be Celtic; but it is univerſally acknowledged, that it has undergone ſuch fluctuations, that there are but few Celtic words to be found in it; which the ingenious and learned Mr. Pinkerton has proved. Hiſtory of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 134, 135. What ſays General Vallancey, who wrote an Iriſh Grammer; ſpeaking of an Iriſh manuſcript, of the year 1325. "It cannot be called a very antient manuſcript; but it is a ſtrong proof, that the Iriſh language of this day (1781) is totally different

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* Inter annales vel auctores fide dignos, locum non mirentur nonnulli noſtri vernaculi ſcriptores, (quorum aliqui Colyanus quatuor magiſtros appellat) erant enim homines illiterati," &c. &c. Primat, Dublin, p. 42.

† Whom to flatter was his firſt object.

in

in ſenſe, and orthography from the dialect ſpoken 400 years ago." Eſſay on the Antiquity of the Iriſh Language, p. 322.

It is univerſally allowed, by all the learned, on this ſubject, that the Celts, of whom the Iriſh were a conſiderable branch, had no typography whatſoever. Hear what the learned Edward Lhyd, ſays on it, in his Archeologia Britannica. The Britiſh (or as they are uſually called) the Saxon, and Iriſh characters, are really Roman, with ſuch very ſmall deviations, as muſt unavoidably be introduced by time, and the arbitrary uſe of writing; and that the ſame characters are ſtill extant on the tomb-ſtone of Kadvan, king of Guymdh, in the Church of Lhan Cadwallader, in the iſle of Angleſey, who was one of the Britiſh princes, in that famous battle fought againſt the Saxons, who had maſſacred the monks of Bangor.*

That learned and accurate hiſtorian, Carte, obſerves, " In a word, we meet with no paſſages in antient authors, which give reaſon to imagine, that either the Gallic or Britiſh Druids had any knowledge of the uſe of letters, before the Romans came amongſt them: we hear of no books on any ſubject, that they ever wrote, nor writings of any kind, that they had, or left behind them, mentioned by any hiſtorian: we ſee no inſcription of theirs, on any pillars of their temples, or on any altars of their gods, or on any monuments of their princes, or heroes, in whoſe honour the Druids, who had the ſole care of religion, and the chief ſway in the ordering of public affairs, may be naturally ſuppoſed as zealous to diſtinguiſh themſelves, as the heathens were, in all countries where they had the uſe of letters. There is an infinite number of the remains of ſuch monuments, altars and temples, erected by the Druids, in theſe iſlands; and ſome there are, of their times, on the neighbouring continent, but, without the leaſt mark to ſhew there ever was a Britiſh or Celtic inſcription on any of them; and as characters engraven in marble are not apt to diſappear, as if wrote in water, a vaſt number of Roman ones, from the reign of Claudius, are preſerved to this day, it may be reaſonable on the whole, to pronounce, that the Britiſh Druids had no knowledge of the uſe of letters. Hiſtory of England, Vol. I. p. 36.

Bollandus, a learned Jeſuit, aſſerts, that the Iriſh had not the uſe of letters till St. Patrick introduced it among them†. The learned Stillingfleet declares in his Origines Britannicæ, that he never could be brought to believe that the Druids wrote annals, or were poſſeſſed of letters. He obſerves, that Cæſar ſays, they depended entirely on memory, and that it was contrary to their diſcipline to commit any thing to writing.

The Iriſh annaliſts having no memorials of any kind whatſoever, to authenticate their early hiſtory, but the oral tradition of their bards and ſcanachies, have invented the following fictions to give a colour to them.

They pretend that St. Patrick committed to the flames 150 tracts of the Druids; which invention Stillingfleet condemns in his Origines Britannicæ. And again, they ſay, that the Danes, when they invaded Ireland in the 9th century, deſtroyed all its hiſtorical records. Lynch, in his Cambrenſis Everſus, adopts a ſimilar impoſture, to eſtabliſh the authority of the Iriſh bards, on which alone their annals are founded; for he accuſes Giraldus Cambrenſis of malicioufly deſtroying a great number of the early Iriſh annals, though he had not the leaſt authority for grounding that aſſertion.

* Archeologia. † Acta ſanct, Martyr. 17. Vit. Patricii, 4.

On

On this Biſhop Stillingfleet obſerves, in his Origines Britannicæ, in which he rejects this monſtrous fiction; "if ſo, he (Giraldus Cambrenſis) had more advantages than Keating." Sir James Ware, in his very excellent book on the Antiquities of Ireland, ſays, "It is moſt certain, that there remains very little knowledge of what paſſed in Ireland, before the preaching of the goſpel there, neither am I ignoraut, that the moſt part of what is delivered by writers, concerning thoſe antient times, before St. Patrick's coming there, is rejected by ſeveral learned men, as fictions and fables; and it is to be remarked, that almoſt all the deſcriptions or accounts that are extant, of matters tranſacted in thoſe antient times, or of the fabric or invention of late ages. In this inquiry, therefore, I have ſpoken very ſparingly of them." Sir James Ware was univerſally reſpected for his veracity and candour; and from his laborious inveſtigation of that ſubject, no perſon was more competent to decide on it.

In page 8, Mr. Plowden ſays, "the Iriſh have long prided themſelves upon having kept up a longer ſucceſſion of monarchs, than any other kingdom of the world. This race of kings, the Iriſh call Mileſian, all of them having deſcended from Heber, Eremen, and Ith, the three ſons of Mileſius."

Father Walſh, the Franciſcan friar, who profeſſes to believe theſe fictions, with much candour confeſſes, that of 200 kings, 170 died premature and violent deaths. Proſpect. p. 2. Of the Mileſian race of kings, hear what the ingenious and learned Pinkerton ſays. "The whole tale of the Mileſians, and the hiſtory of the monarchs of that mock line, is the moſt deplorable piece of nonſenſe that ever ſtained the annals of mankind." Hiſtory of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 13. Spenſer, ſecretary to Lord Grey in the reign of Elizabeth, was an acute obſerver, and took great pains to explore the authenticity of the early part of the Iriſh annals, and he ſays, "Of the four ſons of Mileſius, king of Spain, who conquered the land from the Scythians, and inhabited it with Spaniards, and called it of the name of the youngeſt Hibernus, Hibernia; all which are in truth fables and Mileſian lies, as the Latin proverb is; for never was there ſuch a king of Spain called Mileſius, nor any ſuch colony ſeated with his ſons, that can ever be proved." View of the State of Ireland, p. 1549. London edition. By J. Jonſon.

Hear what the learned Stillingfleet ſays in his Origines Britanniæ, on the Mileſian kings. "We are told from a late Iriſh antiquary, Geoffry Keating, that the poſterity of Guathelus and Scota *, or the Mileſian race, ſettled in Ireland, anno mundi, 2736, after the flood. Here is a pretence to very great antiquity, and an appearance of exact calculation; but I only aſk by what cycles the Iriſh proceeded when they began? How they could adjuſt the time ſo well to the age of the world; or what other certain way they had, which might be reduced to it? If they had none, all this * * * * * * might be only fancy and opinion, unleſs there were ſome characters of time fixed, and certain, by eclipſes and aſtronomical obſervations, or certain periods of time, co-incident paſſages, which might connect the year of their deſcent into Ireland, with ſuch a year of the world, or

* Johannes Major, calls the ſtory of Gauthelus and Scota, and their coming out of Greece and Egypt, a mere figment, and invented only to match the Britons, who derived themſelves from the Trojans.

1086 after the flood. After Moſes paſſing the Red Sea, 192, before Chriſt's nativity 1308, from whence the antiquity of the Iriſh nation is not to be paralleled, unleſs by the Chineſe only.

Though there are ſuch unqueſtionable proofs that the Iriſh could not have known any thing of their early ſtate, Mr. P. (page 12.) gives the following picture of their early refinement and civilization. "The pretenſions to the royal ſtock of ſovereignty in Ireland, were not the only grounds of their ſyſtem of family pride and conſequent preſumption. Each king or ſovereign had his order of chivalry, of which he himſelf was the chief: his high prieſt to ſuperintend religion: his brehen, or chief juſtice, to expound the law: his phyſicians, antiquarians, chief treaſurer, marſhal, ſtandard-bearer, generals of horſe and foot, &c. All theſe were hereditary honours in certain families, out of which the moſt diſtinguiſhed, and beſt qualified, were elected to the particular appointment." From page 15 to 23, Mr. P. gives a moſt minute and pompous account of "the triennial convention of their ſtates, which was called the great Foes, at Jeamer, or Jara, inſtituted by their great and favourite monarch, Ollam-Fodlah, who reigned, according to Keating, about 950 years before the Chriſtian æra. The monarch, and the provincial, and other kings who had the executive power in their hands, on one ſide, and the philoſophers and prieſts, together with the deputies of the people on the other, formed the whole of this antient legiſlature. When this great council was convened, previous to their entering on buſineſs, they ſat down to ſumptuous entertainments, ſix days ſucceſſively." "Very minute accounts are given by the Iriſh annaliſts * of the magnificence and order of theſe entertainments; from whence we may collect the earlieſt traces of heraldry that occur in hiſtory, and deduce that partiality for family diſtinctions, which, to this day, forms a ſtriking part of the Iriſh national characteriſtic. In order to preſerve order and regularity, the ſhield bearers of the princes, and other members of the convention, delivered in their ſhields and targets, which were readily diſtinguiſhed by the coats of arms emblazoned upon them: theſe were arranged by the grand marſhal and principal herald, and hung upon the walls on the right ſide of the tables, and upon entering the apartments, each member took his ſeat undr his reſpective ſhield or target, without the ſlighteſt diſturbance. The firſt ſix days were not ſpent in diſorderly revelling and exceſs, but particularly devoted to the examination and ſettlement of the hiſtorical antiquities and annals of the kingdom; they were publicly rehearſed, and privately inſpected, by a private committee of the moſt learned members." Mr. Plowden, after imputing to the Iriſh an extraordinary degree of refinement, not only in civil polity, but in all the arts which can improve and adorn civil life, tells us, that it was "eſtabliſhed in Ireland 950 years before the æra alluded to by Cæſar, of the rude barbariſm of the Britons," page 15. But well knowing that it cannot be ſubſtantiated by any records whatſoever, he has recourſe to that pitiful fiction of the Iriſh annaliſts (page 16), that "the Danes in their frequent ravages and invaſions of Ireland, during the 9th and 10th centuries, burnt all the books and monuments of antiquity that fell in their way," and he adds, "We have ſtill more to lament, the ſhameful and fatal

* Keating who lived in the 17th century, fabricated all theſe abſurd fables, and Mr. Plowden has tranſcribed them from him.

policy

policy of our anceſtors, who, from the firſt invaſion of Henry of Platagenet, down to the reign of James I. took all poſſible means of cant and force, to deſtroy whatever writings had, by chance or care, been preſerved from the deſtructive hands of the Danes."

This vile fiction is not calculated to reconcile the Iriſh to the Britiſh government or nation. Sir James Ware gives a long liſt of the earlieſt Iriſh annaliſts, depoſited in the Bodilean library, where we are well aſſured that Dr. O'Conor has been conſulting them, and making copious extracts from them.

Had the Iriſh enjoyed a wiſe ſyſtem of laws, under "a longer ſucceſſion of monarchs than any other nation of the world," would it not follow as a natural conſequence, that they would have advanced in civilization, and that the external relations, as well as the internal policy, of ſuch a nation would have been recorded by well authenticated memorials? On the contrary, from the earlieſt ages mentioned by Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, Pliny, and every antient and modern writer, reſpected for his veracity, there appears in the Iriſh character, nothing but traits of barbariſm, and an invincible ferocity, neither ſoftened by religion, nor improved by cultivation. Strabo, who wrote in the reigns of Auguſtus and Tiberius, ſays, "that the Iriſh were barbarous, and wild men." Thoſe, he ſays, that in our days, make a ſurvey of the different countries of the world, find nothing to relate of any country beyond Ireland, which lies to the north, and near Britain, and is inhabited by men entirely wild, αγριων τελεως ανθρωπων.

The ſame author, in ſpeaking of the Britons, tells us, that in his time they reſembled the Gauls in their manners, and way of living, but adds, that they were in ſome degree more rude and barbarous; and then he adds, as to Ireland, by the moſt certain information which I have acquired, its inhabitants are more barbarous and ſavage αγριωτεροι than thoſe of Britain. So that in his time the Iriſh were reputed more barbarous and ſavage, than the Gauls and the Britons; and Cæſar, in his obſervations on the latter, gives ample teſtimony of their barbariſm.

Pomponius Mela, who lived in the firſt age of Chriſtianity, and not long after Strabo, ſays, that the inhabitants of Ireland were unpoliſhed, barbarous, and ignorant of all virtues *.

Keating, in the Preface of his Hiſtory, ſays, that Strabo and Pomponius Mela had no opportunity of knowing the condition and manners of the Iriſh. But Tacitus, in the Life of Agricola, tells us, "that the ports of Ireland were better known, and more frequented, by the merchants, than thoſe of Britain," being much more numerous and ſafer, and probably not inferior to any in Europe. Tacitus received his information from Agricola, his father-in-law; and Agricola received his account from no leſs authority than one of the Iriſh kings. The former, in deſcribing the barbarous ſtate of the Britons, ſays, they are, "diſponi et rudes," and he adds, that the Iriſh † in their manners were much the ſame as the Britons. Solinus, who is ſuppoſed to have lived in the ſecond age of the incarnation, agrees with Strabo and Mela in their account of the Iriſh, for, he says, that in their manners, they are rude and inhuman ‡.

* Pomp. Mela, c. 3, 6,

† Ingenia cultuſque hominum (in Hibernia), non multum a Britannia differunt.

‡ Hibernia inhumana, ritu incolarum aſpera, gens inhoſpita et bellicoſa, fas et nefas eodem animo ducunt. Solinus, c. 36, p. 62.

Froiſſart, an eye witneſs, deſcribes the wretched appearance of four Iriſh kings, who attended Richard II. and he ſays, that they had every thing in common with their ſervants *. That very excellent antiquary, the honourable D. Barrington is of opinion that the Iriſh in 1377, were as uncivilized as the ſavages of North America †.

Giraldus Cambrenſis, a Welſh eccleſiaſtic, who had ſtudied at the univerſity of Paris, where his talents were ſo conſpicuous that he was placed at the head of that ſeat of learning, where he ſupported the higheſt character for eloquence and ſcience, firſt went to Ireland in 1182, and on his return, after remaining there two years, he communicated his obſervations on it to that wiſe monarch Henry II. who appreciated them ſo highly, that in 1185 he was ſelected as privy counſellor and ſecretary to his ſon John, who was about to make the tour of Ireland. He was ordered by Henry to inquire into, and report the ſituation of that country, its nature, the origin of the people, their manners, how often, by whom, and the ways in which they were ſubdued, and what new and preternatural ſubjects were to be found there. This taſk he executed in a maſterly manner; and it is not to be ſuppoſed that he would be ſo raſh as to give any miſrepreſentations in a work ‡, which he addreſſed to ſo wiſe a ſovereign, and which he read for three days before the univerſity of Oxford.

He obſerves, that the Iriſh had ſcarcely emerged from the paſtoral life, that they deſpiſed the labours of agriculture, and declined civil wealth and ſocial connection, paſſing their lives in woods and paſtures, in a brutiſh manner, and in the company of their cattle, p. 739. According to Spenſer, Morriſon, and many other writers, the Iriſh were in a barbarous ſtate, at the end of the 16th century. Their ſole employment was keeping cattle, and paſturing in mountains and waſte places, like the Scythians. This was called to creete, creaght or keyriaught, or boolying, from Bal, a cow. Their boolies were tempo ary huts of clay and twigs, much the ſame as the highland ſheelins, or Indian wigwams. Morriſon tells us, that he ſaw an Iriſh chieftain and his family ſitting naked round the fire in one of them.

Spenſer, in his excellent view of the ſtate of Ireland, ſpeaks thus of them, "By the cuſtom of boolying there grow many great enormities unto the commonwealth. If there be any outlaws or looſe people (as they are never without ſome) which live upon ſtealth and ſpoils, they are evermore ſuccoured and find relief, only in theſe boolies, being upon waſte places, whereas elſe they ſhould be driven ſhortly to ſtarve, or come down to the towns, to find relief, where, by ſome means or other they would ſoon be caught. Beſides, ſuch ſtealths of cattle as they make, they bring commonly to theſe boolies, where they are readily received, and the thief harboured from danger of law, or ſuch officers as might light upon him. Moreover the people that live in theſe boolies grow thereby more barbarous, and live more licentiouſly than they could in towns, uſing what manners they liſt, and practiſing what miſchiefs and villanies they will, *either againſt the government there, by their combinations,*

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* Book I. p. 209.

† Archæologia, v. 3, p. 75.

‡ His latinity is ſingularly good, conſidering, the dark period when he wrote.

or againſt private men whom they maligne, by ſtealing their goods or murdering themſelves *.

The following obſervations of Spenſer, in the ſame work, muſt convince us of the very barbarous ſtate of the Iriſh, in the 16th century.

" The Gauls uſed to drink their enemies blood, and paint themſelves therewith. So, alſo, they write that the old Iriſh were wont, but not their enemies, but their friends blood; as, namely, at the execution of a notable traitor at Limerick, called Murraugh O Brien. I ſaw an old woman, who was his foſter mother, take up his head, whilſt he was quartered; and ſuck up all the blood that run thereout, ſaying, that the earth was not worth to drink it, and therewith, alſo ſteeped her face and breaſt, and tore her hair, crying out, and ſhrieking moſt terribly." Vol. VI. p. 1563, London edition, by Jacob Jonſon. A. D. 1715.

The following record will prove, that the Iriſh differed very little in 462 years, from the deſcription which Giraldus Cambrenſis gave of them, in 1185.

That popiſh rebellious aſſembly, the confederate Catholics of Kilkenny, who aſſumed the legiſlative and executive powers of the ſtate, iſſued the following orders, the 12th of November, 1647.

Whereas ſeveral perſons of the province of Ulſter, and other parts of this kingdom, with their cattle and families, go in great multitudes, through many parts of the ſeveral provinces of this kingdom, being, as they allege, neceſſitated for the ſafety of their lives and fortunes, to leave their former dwellings and habitations, and where, by their daily ranging, they have very much prejudiced ſeveral countries, in deſtroying the graſs, corn, and other goods of the inhabitants there, which hath occaſioned, that ſeveral countries, and places, are quite deſerted and waſted, and the ſaid Keyriaughts avoid the contribution that falls upon them; it is, therefore, for the future redreſs of ſuch miſchiefs thought fit, that the General of Ulſter, calling to his aſſiſtance, ſuch other perſons of the ſaid province as ſhall be fit, ſhall inquire and find out, and return to the Supreme Council now to be eſtabliſhed, the head keriaughts of the ſaid province of Ulſter, with the ſeveral provinces of Leinſter, Munſter, and Connaught, and what number of cattle each of them hath. Upon return whereof, and the examination by the Council, of the lands waſted in the ſeveral countries, which are ſet for county charges only, or which are waſted, and yield no county charges, to aſſign unto the ſaid Keyriaghts, or unto ſeveral of them together, ſo much of the waſte lands in the ſeveral provinces for their habitations†, and their paying county charges for the ſame, as others of the ſame counties will do, where they are to reſide, till they may return to their former habitations, and not to annoy their neighbours, or any of the quarters of the confederate Catholics, at their peril. Printed at Kilkenny, 1647‡. We ſhall now prove, that the pretenſions of the Iriſh to

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* Here is an exact picture of the white boys and defenders, who, in our times, have made a practice of robbing and murdering loyal Proteſtants, and of forming treaſonable combinations againſt the government.

† Hence it is evident that they never had any fixed habitations.

‡ We gave a full deſcription of this traiterous aſſembly, in the twenty-firſt volume of this work.

alphabetic characters, previous to their Bethluiſnion, which all the learned agree, is but an imitation of the Roman character, is founded in the groſſeſt fiction. According to Keating, whoſe hiſtory is the grand repoſitory of all the Iriſh fables, " the famous Feniuſa Farſa, the ſon of Magog, King of Sycthia, deſirous of becoming maſter of the 72 languages, created at the confuſion of Babel, ſent 72 perſons to learn them. He eſtabliſhed a Univerſity at Magh-Seanir, near Athens, over which, he, Gadel and Coaith preſided. Theſe formed the Greek, Latin, and Hebrew letters. Gadel was ordered to digeſt the Iriſh into five dialects. The Finian to be ſpoken by the militia and ſoldiery: the poetic and hiſtoric, by the Scanachies and Bards; the medical, by the phyſicians, and the common idiom by the vulgar." Geoffry Keating, whom Mr. Plowden extols as an hiſtorian, was a ſecular prieſt, who died about the year 1625, a ſhort time after he had finiſhed his hiſtory, which Sir Richard Cox, in his excellent Hiſtory of Ireland, *calls a heap of ſilly fictions;* and which Dr. Talbot, titular Archbiſhop of Dublin, characteriſes in a very few words, by ſaying, ' inſigne plane ſed inſ num opus."

Some of the principal events in his hiſtory turn upon magic and necromancy. O'Flaherty, who deals in fable as much as Keating, ſays, " what if I ſhould affirm, that our Phœnicus was the Phœnican Cadmus, who depicted the antient Greek letters, and which reſembled the Latin Nor are the Iriſh far diſtant from the Latin " Here he ſpeaks the truth, though reluctantly; for the Iriſh elements are derived from the Latin, and the Latin from the Greek. O'Conor's Diſſertations on the antient Hiſtory of Ireland, are nothing but ſcraps tranſlated from O'Flaherty's Ogygia, and Lynch's Cambrenſis Everſus. In the one part of this work, O'Conor obſerves, on the Bethluiſnion, " this has not the leaſt reſemblance with either the Greek or Roman alphabets;" and yet, afterwards, he admits that " the letters uſed by the old Iriſh (the Bethluiſnion) ſince the reception of Chriſtianity, are evidently borrowed from the firſt Chriſtian Miſſioners, as more commodious than the old, uncouth, and virgular forms imported into Ireland, by the Celto Scythian colony from Spain." This is a direct contradiction to what he ſaid before. Sir George Mackenzie, and Biſhop Stillingfleet, had examined the Iriſh claim to remote hiſtory and literature, and found it to be a maſs of ſilly and impertinent impoſture. Father Innes, the two Macpherſons, and Mr. Whitaker, have ſince totally ſubverted it. It is univerſally allowed, that there is not one Iriſh manuſcript extant older than the 11th century.

The annals on which the Iriſh hiſtorians principally rely, and from which Keating has derived many of his abſurd and fabulous relations, are the Pſalter of Caſhell, Cormacs Gloſſary,* the Leaver Gabbala and the Leavar Lecan. Walſh gives the following extract from the firſt, which muſt completely deſtroy its authenticity, as an hiſtorical record. " That the Picts ſerved in Thrace under one Polycornus, that they fled that country, and roamed up and down at ſea, till they came to Gaul, and there founded the city of Pictavia: that they were forced to leave Gaul, and retire to Ireland: that Troſdan, a magician, adviſed the Iriſh army to bathe in the milk of one hundred and fifty white crumple horned cows, as a ſure antidote againſt the envenomed arrows of the Britons." Stillingfleet,

* A Franciſcan Friar who lived in the 17th century.

Innes,

Innes, and Pinkerton, condemn it as a Romance. As to Cormacs Gloſſary, Lynch* in his Cambrenſis Everſus, page 301, ſays, it was the work of Cairbre Liffechair, A. D. 27. Colgan, equally entitled to credit, aſcribes it to Cormac Ulſhada, A. D. 257. O'Conor who publiſhed O'Flaherty's Ogygia vindicated, in 1775, and was well acquainted with Iriſh literature, had never ſeen this gloſſary, and fears it was loſt to the public. Though it has been aſcribed by many Iriſh antiquaries to Cormac, Prince of Munſter, and Biſhop of Caſhell. Lynch and O'Conor, who were ſuppoſed to be well verſed in Iriſh antiquities, are of a different opinion, and ſay is was compoſed by others, who lived above 600 years before Cormac; but they are romancing, when they ſuppoſe letters to have been known, or common in the third century. It is now 1500 years, according to Lynch and Colgan, and 900 according to others, ſince this pretended gloſſary was ſuppoſed to have been written. Has the Iriſh tongue ſuffered no alteration in that great length of time? It muſt have been aſtoniſhingly changed, when General Va lancey, who devoted great part of his life to the cultivation of Iriſh literature, tells us, in his grammar of that language, th t the Iriſh language of 400 years back, is totally different from the preſent, in ſenſe and orthography. The Leavar Gabhala and Leavar Lecan, which have never ſeen the light, are much of the ſame ſtamp with thoſe which we have deſcribed. It is pretended in theſe wretched forgeries, compoſed in an obſcure corner of the globe, not only to ſupply the defects, but to fill up the chaſms of ſacred and profame hiſtory, that the genealogies of the Virgin Mary, Joſeph, and other holy perſons in the Scripture, are not to be had, but in this book of Lecan†. Lynch is of opinion, that it was compiled between the years 1380 and 1417, A. D. a period like the reſt, of rebellion and domeſtic confuſion; but many perſons well verſed in Iriſh literature, differ from him, as the language is too modern for ſo early a date. The Iriſh were attached to their barbarous Brehan inſtitutions, and being unwilling to ſubmit to the wiſe and ſalutary regimen of Engliſh law, their miſerable ſcanachies or bards amuſed themſelves, and their countrymen, with fabulous tales of the antiquity and nobility of their deſcent, the grandeur and power of their former princes, and the diſtinguiſhed learning and civility of their anceſtors.

The pretenſions of the Iriſh to very high antiquity can be ſupported only by authentic records; but all thoſe were deſtroyed by St. Patrick in the 5th century, by the Danes in the 9th, and by the Engliſh in the 12th, what knowledge then could ſucceeding annaliſts have of them? But it is no leſs ſingular than true, that none of the old Iriſh manuſcripts quoted by any of the Iriſh hiſtorians or antiquaries of the 15th or 16th centuries, have ever been produced, though they are ſaid to be in public libraries, or in private collections, or were quoted in detached ſcraps. "Therefore," ſays Stillingfleet‡, in 1685, "it would tend very much to the clearing of anti-

* Ogygia Vind. p. 161. John Lynch, who endeavoured to impeach the credit of Giraldus Cambrenſis, in his Cambrenſis Everſus, publiſhed in 1662, was a ſecular prieſt.

† Lhuyd Archæolo. Brit. p. 435.

‡ Antiq. of Brit. p. 248, 249.

quities, if ſome of theſe antient annals and leger books were printed. For it hath rendered their credit the more ſuſpicious, becauſe they have been ſo long kept up, when all the old Engliſh annals have been carefully publiſhed." Innes, in 1729, after deſcribing the manner in which Iriſh fictions were, by the moderns, brought into ſome conſiſtence and ſhape, obſerves *, that the originals are kept out of ſight to conceal their deformity, and their contradictions to all true hiſtory; and he pertinently obſerves, " we are now no more in ages of ignorance and credulity. Men have begun long ſince to meaſure their belief of remote antiquity by their vouchers." In 1783, Mr. Edmund Burke declared his opinion, " that extracts † from Iriſh manuſcripts only increaſed curioſity; and the juſt demand of the public for ſome entire pieces; and that until this is done, the antient period of Iriſh hiſtory, which precedes official records, can not be ſaid to ſtand on proper authority." In 1786, Mr. Burke ſays in a letter ‡, " will you have the goodneſs to pardon me for reminding you of what I once before took the liberty to mention; my earneſt with that ſome of the antient Iriſh hiſtorical monuments ſhould be publiſhed as they ſtand, with a tranſlation in Latin or Engliſh. Until ſomething of this kind is done, criticiſm can have no ſecure anchorage."

The earneſt wiſh of theſe eminent ſcholars would have been long ſince complied with, were ſuch antient Iriſh manuſcripts in exiſtence; but the Iriſh antiquaries have never ventured to give any thing more than extracts from them; and from the ſpecimens which they preſented of them to the public, it is certainly for the honour of the country to ſuffer them to remain for ever in obſcurity.

After having convicted Mr. Plowden of the groſſeſt literary and hiſtoric falſhoods and miſrepreſentations, we ſhall proceed to examine the proſpectus of Charles O'Conor, D. D. publiſhed in the Annual Regiſter for 1803, and intitled, Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores Antiqui, &c. a Carolo O'Conor, D. D. He profeſſes himſelf to be the grandſon of the late Charles O'Conor, of Belamgare, and of courſe pretends to be deſcended from Roderic O'Conor, the laſt Monarch. We ſhall now examine,

" Quid dignum tanto feret hic promiſſer hiatu."

Our author begins his intended work with the annals of Cluain, otherwiſe called Tigernach's Annals, which come down to the year 1088, A.D. Father Innes §, who examined theſe annals in the Duke of Chandos's library, ſays, " they want ſome leaves in the beginning, and elſewhere, and begin only about the time of Alexander the Great; but till St. Patrick's time, they treat chiefly of the general hiſtory of the world, and contain but very little of Ireland." This annaliſt, ſays Biſhop Nicholſon ||, allows, that omnia monumenta Scotorum ¶, uſque Kimboath (who is ſaid to have reigned A.M. 3596, about 440 years before our Saviour's incarnation) incerta erant. These two citations ſupply criteria to judge, whether interpolations ſhall be hereafter foiſted into a modern edition of theſe annals. Tigernach has always ſupported a good character, and the

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* Crit. Eſſ. Vol. II, p. 499. † Collectan. No. 13, p. 133.
‡ Campbells Strict. p. 291. § Critical Eſſay, p. 453.
|| Iriſh Hiſtorical Library, p. 31.
¶ The early appellation of the Iriſh.

reaſon,

reaſon is given by O'Brien in the preface to his Iriſh Dictionary (p. 40), "becauſe fabulous ſtories are taken no notice of." Doctor O'Conor, therefore, acted wiſely in placing him at the head of his Iriſh annaliſts. But his doing ſo, was impolitic on another account, for he deſtroys the credit of the other Iriſh hiſtorians, who abound in abſurd fables and monſtrous fictions. Though Tigernach is much ſuperior to them, he is not implicitly to be relied on, as he contradicts the venerable Bede, and other writers of credit. The uncertainty of Iriſh literary monuments, which he acknowledges, receives the ſtrongeſt confirmation from what Nennius ſaid, 250 years before: "That he conſulted the moſt eminent Iriſh antiquaries, and that (nulla certa hiſtoria) no certain hiſtory of the nation was extant."

The ſecond in our author's ſeries of annals, are thoſe of Ulſter, otherwiſe called Annales Sonatenſes. According to this proſpectus, they reach to the year 1131. They begin A.D. 444, and end A.D. 1541. "This year, ſays Nicholſon (p. 37), died Roger Caſſidy, who wrote the latter part of theſe annals entirely, and made great additions to the former." Thus dreſſed up by a bigotted Iriſh eccleſiaſtic, and adapted to the taſte of an ignorant and ſuperſtitious multitude (as the Iriſh were in 1541), no reliance can be placed on them.

The next are the annals of Innisfallen, written A. D. 1318. They give a ſketch of univerſal hiſtory, from the creation to the year 430, with very little relative to Ireland. Both Ware and Nicholſon are of opinion, that their author, who is anonymous, lived about the year 1215, ſo that theſe, like the Ulſter annals, have been interpolated, and continued to 1318, and are of equal authority.

The annals of Boyle ſucceed, commonly called Annales Conatienſes. They begin at the year 1232, A.D. and end 1253, and are of little importance. He cloſes his liſt of the Iriſh annals, with thoſe of Donegal, commonly called thoſe of the four maſters. This work conſiſts of two thick volumes 4to. It begins A.M. 2527, and ends A.D. 1171. It was the work of four Franciſcan Friars, Michael and Peregrine Clery, Maurice, and Fearfeara Courv, but principally of the firſt, who had been employed by Colgan* in collecting materials, for his acta ſanctorum Hiberniæ, and who was eminent in that contemptible line of literature. The reader ſhall know the object of his ſtudies from three works which he compoſed. One was an account of the Kings of Ireland, the years of their reigns, and their genealogies, &c. The ſecond conſiſts of the genealogies of the Iriſh Saints, arranged under thirty-ſeven claſſes. The third treatiſe gives the firſt Planters of Ireland, from *the Flood*. Such a compilation of abſurd fables raiſed the indignation of Doctor Talbot, titular Archbiſhop of Dublin, who condemned, and declared them to be unworthy of credit †; and yet they were called the four maſters by Colgan, as preeminent among the Iriſh annaliſts. Doctor Talbot obſerves on Keating, "Nor is there any reliance to be placed on him, who follows them; for he treats of the genealogies of the Iriſh, deducing them, in diſtinct gene-

* John Colgan, an Iriſh friar, a divinity lecturer in the Univerſity of Louvain, who wrote three large volumes of the lives of Iriſh ſaints in the beginning of the 17 century.

† See his obſervations, in p. 3.

rations from Adam. Many things he introduces from Bardic Poems, with ſtories of giants. What valuable information can be had from ſuch writers, I profeſs myſelf ignorant." Such were the ſentiments of Doctor Talbot*, a man, who from his habits and education as a Popiſh eccleſiaſtic, was as little inclined to diminiſh the credit of Iriſh fabulous hiſtory, as Keating or O'Flaherty, but whoſe good ſenſe would not ſuffer him to give them any countenance. If then our moſt celebrated Iriſh annals, can not, in the opinion of their countrymen, ſtand the teſt of criticiſm, can Doctor O'Conor think the literary public ſo weak and ignorant, as to imagine that the authority of theſe works can be propped up by metrical romances, compoſed ſeven or eight centuries earlier? Not one hiſtoric fact, nor any uſeful information of the ſtate of ſociety in remote ages can be elicited from theſe contemptible Bardic fictions.

The publication of theſe annals is artfully made ſubſervient to the purpoſe of introducing its principal objects, which are a topographical chart, and a dictionary of the forfeited eſtates, "to aſſiſt local reſearches." Do the modern poſſeſſors of them in Ireland want ſuch aſſiſtance? They do not. They muſt then be for the uſe of the old proprietors, who complain of being unjuſtly deprived of their antient patrimonies. This chart and dictionary are probably intended to enable them to aſcertain their claims; and in caſe of a revolution, with the aid of old title deeds, and other monuments, formerly lodged in Cooke-ſtreet Chapel, in Dublin, and now ſaid to be transferred to the Popiſh College of Maynooth, in the county of Kildare†, will maintain the hopes of the antient proprietors, of being able to evict the preſent poſſeſſors. That judicious hiſtorian, Mr. Carte, obſerves, in his Life of the Duke of Ormond‡. "But there are two conſiderable bodies of men ſtill diſcontented (in Ireland), both of great power among the people; yet it *was impracticable to gratify either in their deſires, without endangering the Crown, and throwing the whole kingdom into confuſion*; tis eaſy to ſee that I mean the Romiſh Clergy, and the old Iriſh Septs. The former have an abſolute power over the bulk of the Iriſh Papiſts (who being ignorant, ſuperſtitious, and bigotted, are blindly led by them at their pleaſure); and no little influence over the gentry of their communion. The other body are the leaders of the Iriſh Septs, diſpoſſeſſed of their eſtates, which they had forfeited by rebellion §.

Did not Dr. O'Conor's grandfather publiſh a chart of the forfeited eſtates, and ſoon after give an edition of Curry's Civil Wars of Ireland, which contains as groſs a miſrepreſentation of thoſe events as Mr. Plowden's Hiſtorical Review; and it with equal effrontery denies, or palliates, the bloody atrocities committed during their progreſs? Did not thoſe Charts, and many other ſeditious publications tend to promote the rebellions of 1798 and 1803, by exciting diſcontents, and reviving animoſities? And will any one deny that a ſimilar work will have the ſame effect; and that it would deſerve no encouragement, either on the ſcore of intrinſic merit, or good intent? Our duty and our allegiance to the king and con-

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* See his Memoirs in Harris's Edition of Ware's Writers.

† See the Britiſh Critic, Vol. XXII. p. 467.

‡ Vol. I. p. 155.

§ This work was publiſhed near a century ago, and theſe obſervations are applicable to the preſent time.

ſtitution

ſtitution loudly call on us to warn the public againſt any performance, which would not gratify the curioſity of the antiquary, and which might be productive of the worſt effects.

In page 19 and 20, Mr. Plowden adopts and gives credit to all the legendary tales about St. Patrick, who was ſuppoſed to arrive as a miſſionary in Ireland, about the year 430 A. D.; and he ſays, "But it is material to know, that the faith which was preached by St. Patrick to, and received by, the Iriſh, was that *which is now denominated the Roman Catholic faith.* It could in fact have been no other; for St. Patrick received his Chriſtian education, as well as his ſirname Patricius, at Rome; nor is it to be preſumed, that Pope Celeſtine ſent Patrick to preach other doctrines, than what he himſelf maintained."

In page 248 of our 20th volume, we preſented to the reader incontrovertible proofs of the falſity of this aſſertion; to which we ſhall add the following obſervations. Platina, who, in his life of Pope Celeſtine, mentions his ſending St. Germanus into England, and Palladius into Scotland, is perfectly ſilent as to his appointing St. Patrick a miſſionary to Ireland; and it is not to be ſuppoſed, that his biographer, noted for his ſkill in eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, would omit an incident which redounded ſo much to his reputation. If the pompous account of his having received his miſſion from Pope Celeſtine, his orders in the church of Rome, his being graced with the archiepiſcopal dignity, forming an hierarchy, and eſtabliſhing rites and ceremonies, according to the Romiſh See, of which ſome of his biographers boaſt, be true, what reaſon can be aſſigned, why Cogitoſuſus, Adamnan, Cummian, and Bede, authors of the 7th and 8th centuries, are ſilent on it. Adamnan wrote the life of St. Columbus, in three books, which contain nothing but the common legendary tales and irreligious abſurdities of his time. He was a very active and powerful inſtrument, in perverting the Iriſh from their pure original faith to that of Rome. "He endeavoured," ſays Bede, "to bring his own people who were in the iſle of Ily *, or who were ſubject to that monaſtery, into the way of truth, which he had learned and embraced with all his heart, but could not prevail. Not ſucceeding with the Albanian clergy, he ſailed over into Ireland, declared the legal time of Eaſter, according to the Romiſh church, and reduced many of them to the Catholic unity. Returning to Ily, after celebrating the Romiſh Eaſter in Ireland, and moſt earneſtly recommended it to his monks, but without being able to prevail, he departed this life." Would a man ſo earneſt, as Bede here repreſents Adamnan to have been, omit to ſet forth and blazon the merits of St. Patrick, whom all his numerous biographers, in ſubſequent times, have repreſented as ſingularly zealous in converting the heretical Iriſh to Chriſtianity? Or, would Bede himſelf have ſo ſlightly paſſed over this matter, when reciting the merits of Adamnan; and both of them dwell on the trifling actions of obſcure Iriſh monks, ſolely from their devotion to the See of Rome.

It is equally abſurd and incredible to affirm, that Armagh was the head of the Iriſh church, and that St. Patrick exerciſed metropolitan juriſdiction there. Where is the evidence? In monkiſh legends, of late invention and fabrication, which no one believes. It is ſaid by thoſe who give credit to the fabulous accounts of Iriſh ſaints, that St. Patrick went to Rome,

* Now called Iona.

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in the year 462, and related to Pope Hilary the ſucceſs of his miſſion; which was ſo pleaſing, that the Pope, as a mark of his eſteem and approbation, conferred on him the pall and legateſhip of Ireland. We may form ſome notion of the credit due to this ſtory, when Dr. Talbot, titular archbiſhop of Dublin, ſays, in a controverſial work, wherein the right of Dublin or Armagh to the primacy is diſcuſſed, by Talbot on one ſide, and Mac-Mahon on the other, "that St. Patrick was neither archbiſhop, primate, or metropolitan; that his pall is chimerical, made of goat's wool, and flies through the air, ſewn to the reliques of St. Peter the protomartyr †." Thus this Roman Catholic prelate, who, throughout his work, evinces great liberality, ſtrong good ſenſe, and conſiderable learning, treats theſe monkiſh falſehoods with juſt contempt. We cannot be ſurpriſed at his rejecting the legateſhip of St. Patrick, for there was no ſuch office as Legatus *a latere*, until the ſecond Nicene Council ‡, A. D. 787, above three centuries after the ſuppoſed deceaſe of St. Patrick; and we are informed, both by Uſher and Ware, that palls were not beſtowed in Ireland before the year 1152 §. It is an undeniable fact, that our apoſtle was not mentioned by any author, or in any work, of veracity, in the 5th, 6th, 7th, or 8th centuries. In 858, we find his name and miracles, in a fragment of Nennius ‖, which is compoſed of the moſt extravagant abſurdities and incoherences, and is exactly in the ſtyle of the incredible fictions of that age. It ſeems to have been compiled from an Iriſh legend, as in ſome places it refers to it. About the year 880, Heric of Auxerre, in his life of St. German, calls St. Patrick "Hiberniæ peculiaris apoſtolus," the proper apoſtle of Ireland; and at the ſame time he was inſerted in Uſuard's Martyrology. Theſe, I conceive, are the firſt and oldeſt notices of this patron ſaint, for he was not heard of when Bede died, in 735. In the ninth century, when the ſuperſtition and illiterateneſs of the age were favourable to every ſpecies of clerical impoſition, the protection of many European ſtates was aſſigned to Chriſtian ſaints. About the year 816, Leo III. made St. James the apoſtle, the patron ſaint of Spain. He aſſerts **, with all the confidence of infallibility, that, at the inſtance of Abiathar, the Jewiſh high-prieſt, St. James was ſlain by Herod; that his body was concealed, and placed in a boat, which at that inſtant miraculouſly preſented itſelf: that, after ſailing far, it landed in Galicia, and the body was from thence tranſlated to Compoſtella. In conſequence of theſe reliques, the archbiſhop of Compoſtella, in 1215, boldly claimed, in the Lateran Council, the prerogatives due to his ſee: but, afterwards, Ximenes, primate of Toledo, condemned and renounced this monſtrous fiction, by denying the arrival of St. James in Spain; and in this, after a lapſe of ſome centuries, he was ſupported by Cardinal Baronius, againſt Pope Leo. The Scotch, in an apology †† to Pope Boniface VIII. give nearly the ſame account of the coming of the reliques of St. Andrew, their patron, which took place in the ninth century, and in the reign of Ungus. Such was the deplorable ignorance of the times, that Hilduin, in the beginning of the ninth century, was not aſhamed to affirm to the Empe-

† P. 116—133. Dublin edit. A. D. 1724.
‡ Cauſab. exercit. in Baron. p. 386. § Ware's Biſhops, p. 58.
‖ Edit. Bertram, p. 92.
** Apud Marian. c. 12. Baronius ad A. C. 816.
†† Uſher, p. 340.

ror

for Lewis, that St. Luke, in the Acts of the Apoſtles, called Dionyſius a moſt illuſtrious nobleman, and an excellent philoſopher, and that he was ordained the apoſtle of Gaul. Though nothing like this is in the Acts, it paſſed current; for Hilduin was an eccleſiaſtic of high rank, being abbot of St. Germain. However, St. Denis kept his ground, till he was convicted by the French anarchiſts; but he has been reſtored *by the pious Buonaparte, the beloved ſon in Chriſt of Pius VII.* In conſequence of the invaſion and tyranny of the Danes in Ireland, during the ninth century, France became the aſylum of the learned Hibernians; and the example of the French was ſufficient for their imitation, in conſtituting a tutelary ſaint for their iſle.

From the manner of compoſing the lives of ſaints, we may form an idea of the deplorable mental weakneſs of thoſe who believe them, and the conſummate hypocriſy and wickedneſs of thoſe who inculcate them on the ignorant and the credulous. Cardinal Valerio* tells us, that it was uſual with the monks to exerciſe their ſcholars in compoſition, by propoſing the uſual topics to them, the lives and martyrdom of ſaints. No popular ſtories, but more commonly the ſuggeſtions of their own fancy, were the grand work of their amplifications. The beſt of theſe were laid by, and after ſome years were produced as genuine works.

In Mr. Warton's Hiſtory † of Engliſh Poetry, there is a curious anecdote relative to this. About the year 1380, flouriſhed Gilbert de Stone, a learned eccleſiaſtic, and a good writer of the Latin language. The monks of Holywell, in Flintſhire, applied to him to write the life of their Patron-Saint. Stone aſked for materials, and he was anſwered, that there were none; upon which he ſaid, "he could execute the work without materials, and write them a moſt excellent legend, after the manner of the legend of Thomas-a-Becket." Cardinal Beſſarian ſaid of theſe deifications: "In truth, theſe modern ſaints make me doubt of the exiſtence of former ones."‡ The learned Bollandus § declares the Iriſh ſanctology to be the compilation of arrant fabuliſts, and not older than the twelfth century. Tillemont's words are equally ſtrong: "Que la plupar ſont d'auteurs tres fabuleux." Theſe are the ſentiments of liberal, learned, and enlightened Roman Catholic writers, who ſaw the diſgrace brought upon religion, and the real injury done to it, by lying miracles and horrible blaſphemies. A well informed writer, in the year 1700,‖ regards as fabulous, the ſtory of St. Patrick, and his 365 Biſhops, and ſays, that perhaps Patricius Avernenſis may have ſunk a day lower in the calendar, and made the Iriſh a Patricius Hibernenſis; or the Spaniſh Patrick of Malaga, might have appeared to the Iriſh in a dream, as St. George¶ did to the Engliſh, and become their protector, and their apoſtle. He obſerves: "For in old times, give a monk but a name, and he would quickly write a life."**

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* Bayle's Dict. article Valerius.

† Vol. II. p. 190. ‡ Aſſé che queſti ſanti moderni, mi fanno aſſai dubitare delli paſſati.

§ Ab autoribus fabuloſiſſimis conſarcinata, nec ulla ſæculo duodecim priora. Act. Sanct. ad 17 Martii.

‖ Maurice's Defence of Epiſcopacy, p. 155.

¶ According to Rous, St. George did not begin his patronage of England in 1180. Hiſto. Reg. Angliæ edit. Hearne.

** We have not a doubt but that Mr. Plowden would have made a diſtinguiſhed figure in this line of literature, had he remained in his convent at St. Omer's.

By

By the juvenile exerciſes of monks, lives of St. Patrick were amazingly multiplied, and they differed materially as to all circumſtances of his birth place, his education, his miſſion, and his death.* When Joceline began to compare his life, he found that ſixty-ſix biographers had preceded him in the ſame walk; and he tells us, that as all but four were deſtroyed in the Norwegian invaſion, he ſelected from theſe ſuch facts as deſerved belief.† The following are ſome of the miracles which he conſidered as credible. St. Patrick, while an infant, brought a new river from the earth, which cured the blind. He raiſed his nurſe from the dead. He expelled the devil from a heifer; and he changed water into honey. Theſe were but infant ſports of this wonder-working Saint, compared to the miracles which he wrought afterwards in the courſe of his life. Not only the accounts of his exiſtence and miſſion are uncertain and incredible, but the principal incidents of his life, related by his biographers, are contradictory. He is‡ ſaid to have been a North Briton, born at Kilpatrick, A. D. 372; his father was Calpurnius, a deacon, the ſon of Politus, a prieſt; his mother was Concheſſa, niece of St. Martin, Biſhop of Tours. Baronius and Florilgus tell us, he was a native of Ireland: O'Sullivan, that he was born in Britanny. The Scholiaſt on Joceline, ſays, that he was from Cornwall; and others make him a Welchman.

In the conteſt between Talbot, Archbiſhop of Dublin, and Mac Mahon, mentioned before, the latter gravely tells us, from the fabulous chronicles, relative to St. Patrick, that an angel ordered St. Patrick to betake himſelf to Armagh, and to build a cathedral there: that the ſame angelic monitor directed him to Rome, and there pointed out what reliques he ſhould procure and carry back; that he ſelected a cloth ſtained with the blood of Chriſt; part of the Virgin's hair; the reliques of St. Peter, Paul, Stephen, Laurence, and others. In virtue of theſe reliques, Armagh became the metropolitan church.

Having now proved that the exiſtence of the Iriſh apoſtle was doubtful, if not a fabrication, we ſhall endeavour to convince the reader, that the faith at firſt *preached to, and received by, the Iriſh*, was not that *which is now denominated the Roman Catholic*. An hierarchy was early eſtabliſhed in England, as three Britiſh Biſhops, Eborius, Reſtitutus, and Adolphus, aſſiſted at the Council of Arles, A. D. 314; and, conſequently, Chriſtianity muſt have been of an older date there than the fourth century. When we reflect on the zeal of the primitive preachers, and the contiguity of England to Ireland, it cannot be ſuppoſed that the latter iſle eſcaped their evangelical labours. It afforded the terrified Britiſh clergy a ſecure aſylum from the Diocleſian perſecution in the year 303, as it did in the ſucceeding century from the perſecuting ſpirit of the Saxons. So that it is highly probable, the glad tidings of a redeeming Saviour were promulgated in Ireland, very little later than in Britain. The Iriſh themſelves are the beſt evidences of the origin of their faith. About the year 661§, A. D. a conference was held at Whitby, to determine whether the antient diſcipline of the Britiſh and Iriſh churches, reſpecting the paſchal feſtival, tonſure, and other rites, ſhould be continued, or whether the Romiſh innovations, adopted by the Anglo-Saxon church, ſhould be preferred. Wilfred, an eleve of Rome, ſupported the latter, as Colman, an Iriſhman, educated among the Culdees,* at Ily, and Biſhop of Lindisfern, did the

* Vit. St. Patric apud Meſſingham, p. 81.

† Quacunque fide digna reperire potui. Vit. S. Patricii.

‡ Ware's Biſhops, by Harris, initio. § Bede, lib. 3. c. 25.

* A celebrated monaſtic order that aroſe in Ireland, in the ſixth cen-

former. "The Eaſter I keep, ſays Colman, I received from my elders, who ſent me Biſhop hither; the which all our forefathers, men beloved of God, are known to have kept in the ſame manner; and that the ſame may not ſeem to any contemptible, or worthy to be rejected, it is the ſame which St. John the Evangeliſt, and the churches over which he preſided, obſerved." Bede affords unexceptionable evidence, that the hierarchy of the Iriſh church was ſimilar to the † Britiſh; and we know that the latter was independent and epiſcopal. Epiſcopal, for her Biſhops appeared in the Councils of Arles, Nice, Sardis, and Arminium, all in the fourth century. Independent; for the Britiſh prelates nobly oppoſed, on the cloſe of the ſixth century, the uſurpation of Auguſtine, ſent to England by Pope Gregory I. refuſed obedience to a foreign juriſdiction, and conſequently they would not receive ordination ‡ from ſtrangers. About the year 609, Laurence, Biſhop of Canterbury, and two other prelates, writing to the Biſhops and Abbots in Ireland, have theſe remarkable words:—"When the Apoſtolic § See ſent us to theſe weſtern parts to preach to pagan nations, and we happened to come to this iſland of Britain, we very much eſteemed the holineſs of the Britons and Iriſh before we knew them, believing they proceeded according to the cuſtom of the univerſal church ‖; but we have been informed that the Scotch (Iriſh) do not differ in religious ſentiments from the Britons; for Biſhop Dugan coming to us, not only refuſed to eat with us, but even to take any repaſt in the ſame houſe." Let the advocates for the miſſion of St. Patrick from Rome, conſider well this citation. Biſhop Laurence ſucceeded Auguſtine in the ſee of Canterbury, and was by birth a Roman¶. St. Patrick was dead but an hundred years. Could all remembrance of his miſſion from Rome, and his connection with that ſee be forgotten in that ſpace of time; if it could not, would Laurence have neglected to upbraid them with ingratitude to their apoſtle, and a direliction of his doctrines? This unqueſtionably proves the difference between the Britiſh and Romiſh churches in religious tenets, and that the Iriſh agreed with the Britiſh. The Britons, ſays Bede,** would no more communicate with the Anglo-Saxons than with pagans. The Iriſh, we ſee, had exactly the ſame ſentiments. The Britiſh prieſts, complains Adhelm††, puffed up with a conceit of their own purity, do exceedingly abhor communion with us, inſomuch that they neither will join in prayers with us in the church, nor in communion, nor will they enter into ſociety

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tury; and they were univerſally believed to have preached pure evangelic truth. Their founder, Columba, born of illuſtrious parents, A. D. 522, formed a noble monaſtery in Ireland, from which, and the iſland of Ily, now Iona, the order was diffuſed in Scotland, and the north part of England. Bede is very accurate in deſcribing the profeſſion and exterior of Columba.

† Scoti nihil diſcrepabant in converſation a Britannis. Converſatio means here religious life, and ſometimes a monaſtic rule. Du Cange in converſare et converſatio. Bede ſays again, ſimilem vitâm et profeſſionem egiſſe.

‡ Britannica ordinationes ſuus intra ſe concelebrabant, et hoc eſt alterum juris patriarchalis .... five honorarium. Uſher de Libert. Eccl. Britan, See alſo Stillingfleet's Anſwer to Creſſy and Cave, on Church Government, p. 244. ‖ Bede, lib. 2. c. 7. § Meaning the Romiſh.

¶ Parker de Antiq. Brit. p. 73, editi. Drake.

** Moris ſit Britonum, fidem religionemque Anglorum pro nihilo habere; neque in aliquo iis magis communicare quam paganis, lib. 2. c. 20.

†† Epiſt. ad Damnon, 44 inter epiſt. Bonifac. By the Britiſh, he means the Welſh, whoſe religious principles were exactly the ſame with the Iriſh

with us at table: the fragments which we leave after refection they will not touch, but throw to dogs. The cups, out of which we have drank, they will not uſe until they have cleanſed them with ſand and aſhes. They refuſe all civil ſalutations, and will not give us the kiſs of pious fraternity. Moreover, if any of us go to take an abode among them, they will not vouchſafe to admit us, 'till we are compelled to ſpend forty days in penance." Words cannot convey a ſtronger deteſtation of popery than this teſtimony of Adhelm, an excellent ſcholar, and cotemporary with Laurence,

In 630, A. D. the Roman clergy addreſs an epiſtle (to be ſeen in Bede) to five Iriſh Biſhops; five Preſbyters, on the Paſchal Feſtival; and ſome rites of their church. Here, again, St. Patrick might be properly and advantageouſly introduced, and his own, as well as his ſucceſſor's practice, in the ſee of Armagh. But nothing to this purpoſe occurs in our eccleſiaſtical hiſtorian: the Biſhops are ſtiled, without any diſtinction, the moſt beloved and moſt holy Iomianus, Columbanus, Cromanus, Dimanus, and Baithanus.

We ſhall conclude this article by obſerving, that all the ſuperſtitious doctrines of popery were invented ſome centuries after the period in which St. Patrick was ſuppoſed to live; and we ſhall refer our readers to a tract, written by that learned antiquary, primate Uſher, on the religion of the antient Iriſh, to prove that they had no connection with the ſee of Rome, nor acknowledged any of its doctrines 'till the reign of Henry II.

POETRY.

ODE

On the Death of Lord Nelson.

"SAY, what is Glory! what is Fame!
The Sage's, Statesman's, Warrior's wreath,
The pomp and pageantry of name?
The brilliant bubble bursts at death."
Curse on the cold, and callous heart
(There nought or great, or good can dwell)
That thus, at once, wou'd say "*depart*"
To all that prompts us to excell;
The Statesman's labours, and the Sage's lore,
Die not with them—forever they remain:
Nor time, nor revolution dire their reign
Can end: while on th' inſtructive page
Poring intent from age to age,
We wiſer, better grow, by feeding on their ſtore.

And ſhall the Warrior, like the wind,
Or like the bird which cleaves the air,
Leave not a single trace behind?
Unmark'd, unhonour'd, only share
The common, undiſtinguish'd "*Here he lies!*"
No, never! in each Briton's grateful breast,
The patriot warrior ſhall forever reſt.
There, there immortal live, because for us he dies.

No, never from each British heart,
Shall Nelson's lov'd remembrance part,
Deep-ſtamp'd, indelible, and fair,
Aboukir's glorious eve is there.

There, when intrepid issuing forth,
He quell'd the children of the *North.*
Trafalgar's bleft, but fatal day,
Ne'er from our minds shall pass away.
Our latest sons shall, sorrowing, tell
How NELSON conquer'd, how he fell.
He *fell!*—in Glory's arms he lies.
Alas! too soon she claim'd her Son.
"Not so," she says, "th' immortal prize
Already gain'd, his race is run.
He dies possess'd of all that years cou'd give:
He liv'd an age, and shall for ages live."

Sweet is the patriot Victor's death,
In rapture he resigns his breath:
His country's praise, his country's sighs
Are present while the Hero dies.
'Tis only coward guilt that fears,
Embalm'd in his lov'd country's tears,
He knows his dear-earn'd fame shall last
Till Britain's day, and Time's are past.
Far other feelings muft attend
The Corsican's departing ray.
His poifon'd host his soul shall rend,
And cloud his dark and dying day,
'Mid the fell guashes of despair shall lour,
And Jaffa's screams shall rack his latest hour.

Never unmix'd to human kind
Comes the unfrequent cup of joy.
Our smiles and tears are ever join'd,
We taste no bliss without alloy.
Yet, from the foulest dregs, on Cherub wing
Hope rising, bids us mourn, but not despair.
Trust Britain! to thy Naval Sons, for there
See! from his Phœnix aſhes future NELSONS ſpring! D. G.

AN ADDRESS TO ENGLAND, ON HER NELSON'S DEATH!

Written by W. T. Fitzgerald, Eſq.

——breve et irreparabile Tempus
Omnibus est Vitæ; sed Famam extendere Factis,
Hoc Virtutis Opus!

WHILE England beams one univerſal blaze,
The faithful Tribute of a Nation's Praiſe!
For Naval Deeds atchiev'd of high renown,
And Honours added to the Britiſh Crown;
Is there a Briton's breaſt that does not beat,
At NELSON's Triumph, and the Foe's Defeat?
However poor, he ſhares the gen'rous flame,
And glows exulting at the Hero's name.
IMMORTAL NELSON!—here my throbbing heart,
Swelling with ſorrow, acts no borrow'd part—
May I not ſay, and ſay it with a tear,
That with his Death, the Triumph's bought too dear?
But who can murmur? glorious was his doom,
The heart of ev'ry Briton is his Tomb!

The Nation's Fav'rite and his Sov'reign's Pride,
He rul'd deſpotic Lord of Ocean's Tide!
Each coaſt, remember'd for ſome Deed of Fame,
Was made illuſtrious by Great NELSON's Name.
DENMARK, IBERIA, EGYPT's trophied ſhore,
Heard the dread thunder of his cannon's roar;
While laurels won from every hoſtile fleet,
He laid, in triumph, at his Monarch's feet:
And Hiſtory ever ſhall record the day,
Bright with his glory! in TRAFALGAR's Bay.
In torrid climes, where Nature pants for breath,
Or tainted gales bring peſtilence and death,
Where hurricanes are born, and whirlwinds ſweep
The raging billows of th' Atlantic deep,
NELSON had fought, but long had fought in vain,
The ſtill retreating fleets of France and Spain:
When found at laſt, he cruſh'd them on the flood,
And ſeal'd the awful conqueſt with his blood!
Yet as he liv'd, ſo did the HERO fall—
Crouch'd at his feet, he ſaw the humbled GAUL;
Saw hoſtile navies into ruins hurl'd,
And England's trident rule the wat'ry world!
Then did He—laurel-crown'd, and wrapt in fire,
Upborne on VICTORY's outſpread wings, expire!!—
Suſpended be the ſhouts that rend the ſkies—
ENGLAND's triumphant!—but her NELSON dies.
A grateful Nation mourns her Hero dead,
And dews with tears the laurels on his head;
Laurels for ever green! for ever new!
Bequeath'd, with NELSON's dying breath, to you.

TO OUR READERS.

THE great length of our Eſſay on the pretenſions of the Iriſh to early literature, civilization, &c. compels us to omit our political Summary for the preſent month; pregnant as the period is with important events. But a vaſt majority of the country have ſo well appreciated the unparallelled victory of Trafalgar as to leave no regret in our minds for the omiſſion of our own obſervations on that glorious atchievement; while the accounts of the rapid progreſs of the French armies are ſo partial and unſatisfactory as to render it impoſſible to draw any juſt concluſions therefrom, without farther information. Are we again doomed to ſee the ruin of Europe promoted by the wavering, indeciſive, procraſtinating policy of the cabinet of Berlin? Is any Prince, or any Miniſter, *yet* to be convinced, that to *negociate* where it is neceſſary *to act*, is a ſpecies of political ſuicide, deſtitute alike of wiſdom and of courage? But the laps of another month muſt ſuffice to develope the deſigns of this ſtrange, inconſiſtent power; on whoſe conduct, at this critical conjuncture, depends, in a great meaſure, the ſalvation of the European Continent.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

A. is apprized that we except to A—— M——.

A *Looker-on* on the Edinburgh Controverſy was received too late for inſertion this month; but his communication ſhall appear in our next.

Mr. *Marſh*'s Juſtification of himſelf ſhall certainly appear at the ſame time.

The *Remembrancers* and the *Latin Epitaph* are intended for early inſertion.

P. P. D, and *Fidelis* are received and ſhall meet with due attention.